

# Gender and the construction of identities in Indian elementary education

Elsbeth Philippa Heyhoe Page

Institute of Education  
University of London

Ph.D.  
2005

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it, or information derived from it, may be published without the written consent of the author.



# Teachers' involvement in the study (Chapter 4, Table 1)

'Disengaged'		'Constrained'		'Engaged'		
8 men: 6 Vidya 2 Sagar		8 women: all Vidya		4 men (1:V 1:S 2:T) 4 women (2:V 2:S)		
<i>Rakesh Chaturvedi</i>	M V	<i>Sarita Dharey</i>	F V	<b>Deepak Patodia: 1</b>	<b>M V</b>	<b>Std 5 FC</b>
<i>Ramesh Abhiwar</i>	M AHT-V	<i>Minakshi Kajwey</i>	F V	<b>Sanni Kevat: 2</b>	<b>M T:V</b>	<b>Std 5 FC</b>
M. Khan	M HT-V	Kusu Upadhyay	F V	<b>Santosh Pandey: 3</b>	<b>M AHT-S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Raju Sisodia	M V	Uma Badhai	F V	<b>Rounak Tiwari: 4</b>	<b>F S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Ajit Daley	M V	Shalini Sharma	F V	<b>Seema Dhakley: 5</b>	<b>F S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Rahul Mani	M V	Tamana Shukla	F V	<b>Lalit Varma: 6</b>	<b>M T:S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Shailesh Chaubey	M S	Rajni Makvey	F V	<i>Mohini Singh: 7</i>	<i>F V</i>	
Durgesh Sankarey	M HT-S	Kalyani Gadri	F V	<i>Ann Uikey: 8</i>	<i>F V</i>	

V - Vidya, S - Sagar, T - (private) tuition tutors, AHT - Acting Head Teacher, FC - Focus Class, F - Female, M - Male.

The 12 teachers in italics were more involved than the remaining non-italicised 12.

The six teachers in final column, in bold, were associated with the two focus classes, and the most involved.

Of these six teachers, the three teachers in shaded boxes are the focus of Chapter 9.

## Teacher background: Vidya; Sagar; private tuition (Appendix 14, Table 1)

T.U.R.N.	Name	Ph 3	S	SG	TT	A	Ex	FE	ME	M	Ek	I	O
Vidya Primary School		Std											
<b>VME1</b>	<b>Deepak Patodia</b>	5	M	SC	<b>PT</b>	25	4	11		S	A	5	31
VFE7	<i>Mohini Singh</i>	1	F	Ot	ET	36	13	4	3	M	Y	3	7
VFE8	<i>Ann Uikey</i>	1	F	ST	ET	34	14	I	I	M	Y	3	4
VFC9	<i>Minakshi Kajwey</i>	3	F	Ot	ET	38	18			M	Y	1	3
VFC10	<i>Sarita Dharey</i>	5	F	SC	<b>PT</b>	41	6			W	N	1	3
VMD11~AHT	<i>Ramesh Abhiwar</i>	3	M	SC	ET	45	20	I	I	M	A	2	1
VMD12	<i>Rakesh Chaturvedi</i>	4	M	Ot	ET	42	16	6	0	M	RT	3	4
VFC13	Kusu Upadhyay	2	F	Ot	ET	47	21			M	A	0	1
VFC14	Rajni Makvey	2	F	Ot	ET	47	19			M	Y	0	3
VMD15	Ajit Daley	2	M	Ot	ET	47	23				A	0	
VFC16	Kalyani Gadri	3	F	O	ET	53	28			M	RT	0	1
VFC17	Tamana Shukla	4	F	Ot	ET	45	22				A	0	2
VMD18	Raju Sisodia	4	M	Ot	ET	37	9				A	0	3
VFC19	Uma Badhai	5	F	O	ET	44	16			S	A	0	2
VMD20	Rahul Mani	Ab	M	Ot	<b>PT</b>	25	4				n/a	0	2
VMD21~HT	Mohamed Khan	*R	M	Ot	ET		24+			M	RT	0	1
VFC22	Shalini Sharma	*PA	F	Ot	ET					M	A	0	2
Private tuition tutors													
<b>TVME2</b>	<b>Sanni Kevat</b>	Any	M	O	Pri	30	8	2	n/a	M	N	2	4
<b>TSME6</b>	<b>Lalit Varma</b>	1 to 8	M	O	Pri	37	17	11	4	M	N	2	4
Sagar Middle School													
<b>SME3~AHT</b>	<b>Santosh Pandey</b>	6,7,8	M	Ot	ET	55	32	G	6	M	RT	2	24
<b>SFE4</b>	<b>Rounak Tiwari</b>	6,7,8	F	Ot	ET	45	23	10	4	S	RT	6	23
<b>SFE5</b>	<b>Seema Dhakley</b>	6,7,8	F	SC	<b>PT</b>	33	6	11	0	M	N	2	8
SMD23	Shailesh Chaubey	6,7,8	M	Ot	ET	58	35			M	Y	0	2
SMD24~HT	Durgesh Sankherey	*R	M	O	ET		24+				Y	0	5

Key (No entry means information not available)

Std Standard taught in Phase 3

S Sex

SG Social Group - as student classifications: ST/SC/OBC/Other

A Age in March 2003

TT Type of teacher (ET- Established-teacher. PT Para-teacher).

Ex Teaching experience (in years)

FE Father's education: (Years. G - Graduate. I - Illiterate)

T.U.R.N. = Teacher Unique Reference Number.

M Marital status. M - Married, S - Single, W - Widowed

Ek Experience of Eklavya - Y/N, RT, or A

(RT- Resource Teacher, A-aware, but not involved)

I Number of interviews

O Number of observations

\*PA Passed away

\*R Retired by Phase 3

**Elsbeth Page, Thesis bookmark, Side B: Girls and families**

**Families and girls' educational aspirations (Chapter 7, Table 8)**

Girls are presented according to family educational aspirational groups. Girls' aspirational groups are indicated in the right hand column (for each school).

Vidya - post-Standard 5 aspirations								Sagar - post-Standard 8 aspirations							
Girls		C	IG	QR	A	F	G	Girls		C	IG	7R	A	F	G
<b>Family - 'Confident'</b>								<b>Family - 'Confident'</b>							
VC1B	Sunanda Prasad (S)	OBC	B	4	13	0	P	SC1A	Saroj Sahu	OBC	A	10	14	4	P
VC2C	Priya Gehlot	SC	C	16	10?	0	P	SC2A	Lajwanti Sahu	OBC	A	4	14	3	P
VC3C	Shobha Gehlot	SC	C	25	10	0	P	SC3A	Jagruti Sahu	OBC	A	44	15	3	P
VC2C	Reena Singh	G	C	2	12	0	P	SC4B	Chitra Sahu	OBC	B	9	13	0	P
VC5E	Aruna Kaithwas	SC	E	39	11	5	P	SC5C	Pratima Singh	G	C	21	12?	0	P
<b>Family - 'Aspirational'</b>								SC6C	Kanchan Gourey	SC	C	5	16	3	P
VA6A	Sujata Khorey	OBC	A	48	12	5	P	SC7D	Alka Khorey	OBC	D	41	16	5	P
VA7A	Ananya Kaithwas	SC	A	8	11	0	P	SC8D	Usha Chhalotrey	OBC	D	25	12?	0	P
VA8B	Ananya Nuikey	SC	B	29	10	0	P	SC9E	Lekha Sutar	OBC	E	17	13	0	P
VA9B	Sujata Saini	OBC	B	11	12	0	P	SC10F	Anamika Khorey	OBC	F	2	12?	0	P
<b>Family - 'Undermined'</b>								SC11F	Madhuri Sarvan	SC	F	11	13	0	P
VU10A	Bina Phurvi	ST	A	46	12	5	U	SC12I	Sharmila Khorey	OBC	I	33	13	0	P
VU11A	Suman Gehlot	SC	A	n/a	11	4	U	SC13I	Aruna Chhalotrey	OBC	I	18	13	0	P
VU12A	Damini Gehlot	SC	A	32	12	4	U	SC14I	Meena Sahu	OBC	I	24	13	3	P
VU13B	Rewa Prasad (S)	OBC	B	7	15	0*1	U	SC15I	Rakhi Khorey	OBC	I	16	12?	0	P
VU14C	Rashmi Dohar	SC	C	34	11?	1&5	C	<b>Family - 'Undermined'</b>							
VU15C	Parul Kaithwas	SC	C	40	14	5x2	U	SI16A	Lajwanti Chaudri	SC	A	28	16	0	U
VU16C	Aradhna Uikey	ST	C	45	13	5	U	<b>Family - 'Indifferent'</b>							
VU17C	Anu Khan	M-OBC	C	51	12	5	U	SI17A	Leela Rehlot	SC	A	38	15	4	R
VU18C	Kamini Kalsi	S-OBC	C	50	12	5	U	SI18A	Damini Sutar	OBC	A	29	14	0	U
VU19D	Kanchan Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	18	13	0*2	C	SI19C	Kanchan Banwar	OBC	C	n/a	15	5	T
VU20D	Rani Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	31	11	0*2	C	SI20G	Bali Singh	G	G	34	13?	0	T
VU21D	Sudha Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	21	11	0*2	C								
VU22D	Damini Chandel	G	D	n/a	11	5	U								

**Key**

- C Caste (G - General Caste, M - Muslim, S - Sikh).  
 IG Income Group  
 QR/7R Rank in quarterly or Standard 7 exams - (Std 5 out of 55 students, Std 8/7 out of 50).  
 Age Girls' age according to register (If followed by a question mark, stated age seemed unlikely)  
 F Classes failed  
 G Girls' Aspirations: 'Positive', 'Confused', 'Undermined', 'Resistant', (Emotionally) 'Torn'.  
 (S) The girl has a sister in the class. Sunanda and Rewa Prasad were sisters, as were Kanchan, Rani and Sudha Kaithwas.

Girls in shaded boxes were married a year after the fieldwork ended.

## Abstract

This study is set in Madhya Pradesh, India, where development policy is inspired by the work of Amartya Sen, and education is valued as a mechanism for the equitable transformation of gender identities and relationships.

The investigation is a mixed method case study focussing on two government elementary school classes. It explores the educational aspirations and practices of girls, their teachers and families; their formation; the achievements enabled by the intersection of these aspiration and practices and the factors shaping girls' different achievements.

Sen's capability approach is used to access state priorities and the foundational distributional, professional/institutional, knowledge and gender regimes of 'the social arrangements for education'. Connell's social embodiment paradigm frames deeper exploration of gender regimes and the construction of gender identities, focussing on power, production, emotional and symbolic relationships.

Fieldwork was conducted over three phases, totalling thirteen months. Analysis of policy, statistics and textbooks provides the framework for ethnographic observations in schools, classrooms, offices and communities, supplemented by structured classroom observations, semi-structured interviews with teachers, pupils and families, and background data.

The thesis focuses on Indian gender and education literature; state policy and programmes and their negotiations; schooling, gender, bureaucratic and professional regimes; families and family regimes; focus-school teachers and school regimes; focus-class teachers and classroom regimes and girls' aspirations and achievements.

Dominant distributional, professional/institutional, knowledge and gender regimes discouraged any transformations, yet girls, families and teachers were dissatisfied with the status quo and inclined towards change. These fragile inclinations were undermined where teachers' de-professionalised positions compromised practice, school quality undermined family commitment and classroom regimes and curricula discouraged girls' success and persistence.

When teachers, schooling and curricula enabled academic success and rendered girls' aspirations realistic, family commitment was encouraged and girls manipulated opportunities for greater autonomy. This 'virtuous circle' was significantly enhanced by one teacher's gender-sensitive practice.



## Table of contents

<b>Title, contents and details.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Title page.....	1
Abstract.....	2
Table of contents .....	3
List of tables and boxed cases .....	8
List of acronyms.....	9
Glossary of Indian terms .....	11
Acknowledgements.....	13
Declaration of word length .....	13
Dedication .....	13
<b>Chapter 1 Development as Freedom: against which gendered odds? .....</b>	<b>14</b>
1.1 The study.....	14
1.1.1 Rationale .....	14
1.1.2 Focus, questions and theoretical frameworks .....	15
1.1.3 Structure.....	16
1.2 Background.....	17
1.2.1 Global development orthodoxy .....	18
1.2.2 Genesis of the study .....	20
1.2.3 Terminology of caste/varna and social group .....	23
<b>Chapter 2 The capability approach, India and Madhya Pradesh .....</b>	<b>26</b>
2.1 The contextualising framework: the Capability Approach.....	26
2.1.1 Freedom: the 'stuff' of development .....	26
2.1.2 Women's equality and empowerment .....	29
2.1.3 Gender and education .....	30
2.1.4 Relevance for the study.....	32
2.2 Indian literature: three discourses .....	33
2.3 Indian policies, commitments and programmes .....	36
2.3.1 Democratisation .....	36
2.3.2 Gender equality and universal elementary education .....	36
2.4 Madhya Pradesh policies, commitments and programmes .....	40
2.4.1 Democratisation .....	40
2.4.2 Gender equality and universal elementary education .....	41
2.4.3 Innovative collaboration with Eklavya .....	43
2.5 Progress against national and state goals.....	46
2.5.1 Statistical and quantitative issues.....	46
2.5.2 Qualitative explorations, issues and challenges.....	49
2.5.2.1 UEE: quality, equity and equality?.....	49
2.5.2.2 Teacher professionalism.....	52
2.5.2.3 Epistemology and curriculum .....	55
2.6 Conclusions and connections .....	57
<b>Chapter 3 Social change and identity transformation: the literature .....</b>	<b>59</b>
3.1 Theorising inequality (class) reproduction theories.....	59
3.2 Gender politics .....	62
3.2.1 Robert Connell: social embodiment .....	62
3.2.1.1 Gender orders and gender regimes.....	65
3.2.1.2 Evidence of change .....	68
3.3 Western and development literature: schooling regimes .....	69
3.4 Indian literature: gender regimes .....	73
3.4.1 The nature of the literature.....	73
3.4.2 The construction of gender identities.....	74

3.4.2.1	Power relations.....	75
3.4.2.2	Production relations.....	76
3.4.2.3	Emotional relations.....	77
3.4.2.4	Symbolic relations.....	80
3.5	Indian literature: gendered schooling regimes.....	81
3.5.1	Provision and enrolment: quality, equity and equality?.....	81
3.5.2	Institutional and professional regimes.....	82
3.5.3	Epistemology, curriculum and classroom processes.....	83
3.6	Conclusions and connections.....	86
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Ethical, methodological and practical complexities.....</b>	<b>87</b>
4.1	Research Design.....	87
4.1.1	Methodology, research questions and methods.....	87
4.1.2	Theoretical frameworks.....	90
4.1.3	Iterative cycles.....	92
4.2	Ethical and methodological considerations.....	93
4.3	Practical logistics.....	97
4.3.1	Pilot study, redesign, consultations, school and teacher sample.....	97
4.3.2	Field assistants and translators.....	100
4.3.3	Interviews.....	101
4.3.4	Observations.....	102
4.3.5	Data collection, processing and analysis.....	105
4.3.6	Re-presentation.....	107
4.4	Complexities, challenges and issues.....	110
4.4.1	Access, language and negotiations.....	112
4.4.2	Gathering background data.....	115
4.4.3	Complex observations.....	116
4.4.4	Interviews and interactions.....	117
4.4.5	Analysis, validity and triangulation.....	119
4.4.6	Re-presentation.....	121
4.5	Conclusions and connections.....	123
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Setting, educational regimes and sample.....</b>	<b>124</b>
5.1	Structural features and socio-economic profile.....	124
5.2	Educational reform and schooling regimes.....	127
5.2.1	Educational interventions.....	127
5.2.2	Classed educational aspirations and inequitable provision.....	128
5.3	The schools.....	131
5.3.1	Vidya Primary School.....	132
5.3.2	Sagar Middle School.....	135
5.3.3	Focus-school enrolment: class, gender and caste exclusions.....	138
5.4	Teachers, pupils and difference.....	141
5.4.1	The 24 teachers.....	141
5.4.2	Socio-economic composition of the sample.....	143
5.5	Conclusions and connections.....	146
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Gender, bureaucratic and professional regimes.....</b>	<b>147</b>
6.1	Gender regimes.....	147
6.1.1	Gendered power/production relations.....	147
6.1.2	Emotional relations.....	150
6.1.3	Symbolic relations.....	154
6.2	Institutional regimes of district and block education offices.....	156
6.3	Teacher professional regimes.....	159
6.3.1	Divided cadres, district “servants”, government data demands.....	159
6.3.2	Personalised access and protective social capital.....	161
6.3.3	Training, professional development and reflection.....	163
6.4	Conclusions and connections.....	165



<b>Chapter 7 Families and family regimes .....</b>	<b>166</b>
7.1 Family aspirations for girls' further schooling.....	166
7.1.1 Family aspirations: four 'aspirational' groups.....	166
7.1.2 The 'value/s' attached to daughters' school persistence .....	168
7.1.2.1 A 'better life' .....	169
7.1.2.2 The best possible marriage .....	171
7.1.2.3 Public-sphere employment .....	173
7.1.2.4 A better life within marriage.....	177
7.1.2.5 Indicative of social status .....	178
7.1.2.6 A legitimate reason to delay marriage? .....	179
7.2 Factors shaping family educational aspirations and practices .....	180
7.2.1 Income-aspiration correlations? .....	181
7.2.2 Broader family concerns and conditions for continued schooling .....	182
7.2.2.1 'Reputational' safety .....	183
7.2.2.2 Academic success.....	184
7.2.2.3 Desire and determination to study.....	186
7.2.2.4 'Contained' autonomy.....	187
7.3 'Virtuous and vicious' circles: aspirations, practices and outcomes .....	189
7.3.1 Tabular representations.....	189
7.3.2 Case by case elaboration .....	193
7.4 Conclusions and connections .....	197
<b>Chapter 8 Vidya and Sagar: teachers and school regimes.....</b>	<b>199</b>
8.1 Three categories of teacher practice .....	199
8.2 Gender: rhetoric and reality .....	202
8.2.1 Six gender 'visions/positions' .....	202
8.2.2 Institutional (staff) regimes.....	211
8.2.2.1 Vidya.....	211
8.2.2.2 Sagar .....	215
8.3 Gender and government schooling: aspirations and practices .....	216
8.3.1 Educational aspirations for government school pupils.....	216
8.3.2 Pupils' 'otherness'.....	221
8.3.3 Unconscious gender bias .....	222
8.4 'Returns' to schooling .....	225
8.5 Conclusions and connections .....	228
<b>Chapter 9 Classroom regimes: the focus-classes.....</b>	<b>229</b>
9.1 Broad gender patterns in school and tuition environments.....	229
9.1.1 School.....	229
9.1.2 Tuition.....	233
9.2 Classroom regimes, teacher practice and pupil achievements .....	235
9.2.1 Deepak Patodia.....	235
9.2.2 Santosh Pandey.....	237
9.2.3 Rounak Tiwari .....	239
9.2.4 Seema Dhakley .....	242
9.2.5 Board exam performance .....	243
9.3 Factors shaping classroom regimes and pupil outcomes.....	245
9.3.1 Curriculum, syllabi, exams and textbooks .....	245
9.3.2 Teacher skill, teaching repertoires and confidence .....	248
9.3.3 Learner characteristics and academic foundations.....	250
9.3.4 Teacher negotiation of professional regimes .....	251
9.3.5 Teacher reflection and engagement with 'inequality' .....	252
9.4 Conclusions and connections .....	255
<b>Chapter 10 Girls' educational and autonomy achievements.....</b>	<b>256</b>
10.1 Girls' aspirations for further schooling.....	256
10.1.1 Girls' educational aspirations: six aspirational groups.....	256
10.1.2 The 'value/s' attached to school persistence.....	257
10.2 Home-school-community factors shaping girls' aspirations and practices.....	259

10.2.1	Concern with 'reputational' safety.....	262
10.2.2	Requirement that autonomy be 'contained' .....	264
10.2.3	Demand for genuine academic success.....	265
10.2.4	Girls' demonstrable desire and determination to study .....	267
10.3	Primary concerns: related to school and performance .....	269
10.3.1	Physical condition of school .....	270
10.3.2	Teacher regularity and timing .....	271
10.3.3	Teacher attitude and behaviour with pupils .....	272
10.3.4	Curriculum.....	274
10.3.5	Teaching style and teacher integrity .....	277
10.3.6	Tuition.....	281
10.4	'Virtuous or vicious' circles: aspirations, practices and outcomes.....	283
10.4.1	Academic achievements .....	283
10.4.2	Synthesis of aspirations, practices and outcomes.....	286
10.4.3	Reasons for girls' different aspirations and achievements .....	288
10.5	Conclusions and connections .....	290
<b>Chapter 11</b>	<b>Conclusions .....</b>	<b>291</b>
11.1	Reflections on the thesis and findings.....	291
11.2	Reflections on the theoretical and policy frameworks .....	298
11.3	Reflections on the study and areas for further research .....	302
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>307</b>
Appendix 1:	Global Development Orthodoxy.....	307
1.1	Table 1: UN Millennium Development Goals .....	307
1.2	Table 2: Beijing Platform for Action, 1995 .....	307
1.3	Table 3: Dakar Framework for Action, 2000.....	307
1.4	Table 4: 1990-2004 HDR titles.....	308
1.5	Table 5: Formulas for calculation of HDI, HPI, GDI and GEM.....	308
Appendix 2:	The three discourses in Indian literature.....	309
2.1	Styles and foci of the literature .....	309
2.2	Sample literature from first and third discourses .....	310
2.2.1	Sample literature from first, 'mainstream' government and agency discourse.....	310
2.2.2	Sample literature from third, 'post-development' discourse.....	312
Appendix 3:	Ruling parties in India and Madhya Pradesh.....	313
3.1	India.....	313
3.2	Madhya Pradesh .....	313
Appendix 4:	National and Madhya Pradesh curricula and Eklavya statements.....	314
4.1	National Scheme of Studies .....	314
4.2	Madhya Pradesh Scheme of Studies .....	314
4.3	Eklavya Statements .....	315
Appendix 5:	Guidelines for teacher pay and incentives .....	316
Appendix 6:	Progress on Gender Equality and Universal Elementary Education .....	317
6.1	Table 1: Goals, targets and indicators for MDG 2 and 3 .....	317
6.2	Table 2: Progress of India and Madhya Pradesh against MDGs 2 and 3 .....	317
6.3	Table 3: Educational achievements of 15-19 year olds in India and Madhya Pradesh.....	317
6.4	Paragraph 4: The difficulty of calculating India's progress.....	318
Appendix 7:	Data collection activities and times.....	319
7.1	Table 1: Phases of the study.....	319
7.2	Table 2: Background/contextualising activities.....	319
7.3	Table 3: Observations .....	319
7.4	Table 4: Teacher interviews.....	319
7.5	Table 5: Standard 5 and 8, pupil and family background data and interviews.....	319
Appendix 8:	Data collection schedules and fields.....	320
8.1	Table 1: Standard 5 structured lesson observation schedule blank.....	320
8.2	Key to Standard 5 structured observation schedule .....	321
8.3	Table 2: Standard 8 structured lesson observation schedule blank.....	322
8.4	Key to Standard 8 structured observation schedule .....	323
8.5	Fields for background data.....	324



8.5.1	Vidya Primary School .....	324
8.5.2	Sagar Middle School.....	324
8.5.3	Teachers.....	325
8.5.4	Students .....	325
8.5.5	Families.....	326
8.6	Interview schedules.....	326
8.6.1	Phases 1 and 2 initial teacher interview topics.....	326
8.6.2	Phase 3 Terminal teacher interview topics .....	327
8.6.3	Standard 5 girls' interview topics.....	329
8.6.4	Standard 8 girls' interview topics.....	329
8.6.5	Standard 5 girls' families' interview topics.....	330
8.6.6	Standard 8 girls' families' interview topics.....	331
Appendix 9: Summary of information in data sets .....		332
9.1	List 1: National, state, district and Eklavya documents .....	332
9.2	List 2: National, state, district, town, village statistical data.....	333
9.3	List 3: MP SCERT and Eklavya textbooks and study guides .....	333
9.4	Table 1: Text-books sections for observations sessions .....	334
9.5	Table 2: Observations and interviews per teacher .....	334
9.6	List 4: DVD contents.....	335
9.7	Image: DVD box set - 23 DVDs.....	335
9.8	Table 3: Teachers .....	336
9.9	Table 4: Offices/departments visited.....	336
9.10	Table 5: Most involved Nakuur education officials.....	336
Appendix 10: Interview codes and coding tables.....		337
10.1	Initial codes from first reading, and recoding of a selection.....	337
10.2	Recoding for 'Value of Education' (6 teachers, all girls' families and girls).....	337
10.3	Table 1: All Teachers – Coding Table 1 .....	338
10.4	Table 2: Cohort 3 Girls – Coding Table 1 (See next page for key to themes).....	339
10.5	Table 3: Cohort 3 Girls' Families – Coding Table 1.....	341
10.6	Table 4: 6 Teachers – Coding Table 2.....	342
10.7	Table 5: Cohort 3 Girls – Coding Table 2.....	343
10.8	Table 6: Cohort 3 Girls' Families – Coding Table 2.....	344
Appendix 11: Field assistants and research visa .....		345
11.1	Paragraph 1: female field assistants.....	345
11.2	Paragraph 2: obtaining the research visa.....	345
Appendix 12: Maps .....		346
12.1	India showing state divisions .....	346
12.2	Madhya Pradesh showing district divisions.....	346
12.3	Route map from Nakuur town to Sagar village: circa 1950?.....	347
12.4	Sketch Map of Sagar village: 2002.....	347
12.5	Nakuur town plan with significant places marked .....	348
Appendix 13: Nakuur and Sagar descriptions.....		349
Appendix 14: Background of teachers and Cohort 3 focus-class families .....		350
14.1	Table 1: Teacher details.....	350
14.2	Table 2: Income groups .....	351
14.3	Table 3: Calculations of teacher pay/incentives .....	351
14.4	Table 4: Distribution of family incomes .....	352
14.5	Table 5: Teacher income groups, according to monthly salary .....	353
14.6	Chart 1: Income group distribution of teachers* and focus-class families.....	353
Appendix 15: Nakuur educational data.....		354
15.1	Table 1: Social group percentages of total population .....	354
15.2	Table 2: Nakuur block and town schooling .....	354
15.3	Table 3: Nakuur district: child population and numbers enrolled.....	354
15.4	Table 4: District and Sagar populations and enrolment, by social group .....	354
15.5	Table 5: Sagar and Amba: 6-14 pop. and enrolled, as percentage of totals .....	354
15.6	Table 6: Sagar and Amba: 6-14 pop. and enrolled, as absolute numbers.....	354
15.7	Table 7: District enrolment by social group, percentage of total enrolment.....	355
15.8	Table 8: District 'wastage' between Standards 5 and 8, by social group .....	355
15.9	Table 9: Vidya/Sagar Phase 3 enrolment by social group, %-age of total enrolment .....	355
15.10	Table 10: District/school Phase 3 enrolment by social group, %-age of total enrolment.....	355
15.11	Table 11: Nakuur District teachers by grade and sex .....	355

Appendix 16: Focus-school details.....	356
16.1 Vidya Primary School.....	356
16.2 Sagar Middle School.....	357
Appendix 17: Work covered during videoed observations.....	358
17.1 Table 1: Standard 5.....	358
17.2 Table 2: Standard 8.....	359
Appendix 18: Both cohorts, focus-class 'board exam' performance.....	360
18.1 Key to tables and father's occupations.....	360
18.2 Table 1: Phase 2, Standard 5 pupil background data and board exam results .....	361
18.3 Table 2: Phase 2, Standard 8 pupil background data and board exam results .....	362
18.4 Table 3: Phase 3, Standard 5 pupil background data and board exam results .....	363
18.5 Table 4: Phase 3, Standard 8 pupil background data and board exam results .....	365
18.6 Table 5: Percentage marks at subjects failed at first attempt (both phases) .....	366
Appendix 19: Thesis bookmark .....	367

## Bibliography..... 369

### List of tables and boxed cases

Ch	Page	Table or box no.	Title
4	99	Table 1	Introducing the teachers, grouped by 'categories of practice'
5	140	Table 2	District/school enrolment by social group, percentage of total enrolment
5	144	Table 3	Introducing Cohort 3, Standard 8 girls, by family 'aspirational' and social groups.
5	145	Table 4	Introducing Cohort 3, Standard 5 girls, by family 'aspirational' and social groups.
7	168	Table 5	Family aspirations/confidence for further schooling
7	190	Table 6	Factors impacting positively on family aspiration/persistence
7	191	Table 7	Factors impacting negatively on family aspiration/persistence
7	192	Table 8	Families' educational aspirations
7	194	Box 1	Rewa Prasad's story (Vidya)
7	196	Box 2	Pratima Singh's family story (Sagar)
8	225	Table 9	Vidya, class-by-class enrolment and girls' percentages of total enrolment
8	226	Table 10	Sagar, class-by-class enrolment and girls' percentages of total enrolment
8	226	Table 11	Sagar, Standard 8 enrolment from 1986 to 2003 and girls' representation
9	230	Table 12	Both focus-class cohort enrolments
9	243	Table 13	Both focus-class cohorts, 2003 board exam attempts and outcomes
9	244	Table 14	Both focus-class cohorts, subject-wise performance at first attempt
9	244	Table 15	Both focus-class cohorts, average pass-marks (percentages) at first attempt
10	260	Table 16	Girls' aspirations/confidence regarding further schooling
10	264	Box 3	Rewa Prasad's perspective (Vidya)
10	266	Box 4	Parul Kaithwas' day (Vidya)
10	284	Table 17	Cohort 3 girls' total marks and rank in board exam
11	305	Table 18	Areas for further research

## List of acronyms

AI	Annual Increment
AS	Alternative School
BAC	Block Academic Co-ordinator
BDPFA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
BEO	Block Education Officer/Officer
BJP	Bharatiya Jan Party (India People's Party)
BRC	Block Resource Centre
CAC	Cluster Academic Co-ordinator
CRC	Cluster Resource Centre
DA	Dearness Allowance
DEEL	Department of Elementary Education and Literacy
DEO	District Education Office/Officer
DFA	Dakar Framework for Action
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DIET	District Institute of Education and Training
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
DWCD	Department of Women and Child Development
EDCIL	Education Consultants, India Ltd.
EFA	Education for All
EGS	Education Guarantee Scheme
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDO	Global Development Orthodoxy
GE	Gender Equality
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GHSS	Government Higher Secondary School
GHS	Government High School
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GMS	Government Middle School
GPS	Government Primary School
GP	Gram Panchayat (Village Council)
GURN	Girl's Unique Reference Number
HD	Human Development
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HPI	Human Poverty Index
HR	House Rent
HSTP	Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme
IHDR	India Human Development Report
JP	Janpad Panchayat (Block Council)
JSK	Jan Shiksha Kendra (Cluster Resource Centre)
LDT	Lower Division Teacher
LSA	Lok Sampark Abhiyan
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLL	Minimum Levels of Learning
MPBA	Mahila Padhna Padhna Andolan
MPHDR	Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report

NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCF2000	National Curriculum Framework 2000
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NFHS-2	National Family Health Survey-2
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NIEPA	National Institute of Educational Planning and Management
NLM	National Literacy Mission
NP	Nagar Palika (Municipal Council)
NPE/POA	National Policy on Education and Programme of Action
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PBA	Padhna Badhna Andolan
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institutions (Local Government)
PROBE	Public Report on Basic Education
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
RGPSM	Rajiv Gandhi Prathamik Shiksha Mission
RGSM	Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission
RIE	Regional Institute of Education
RT	Resource Teacher (Eklavya)
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SCERT	State Council of Educational Research and Training
SK	Shiksha Karmi
SNA	Supra-National Agency
SOS	Structured Observation Schedule
SP	Shiksha Panchayat (School Council)
SS	Samvidha Shikshak
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
SC	Scheduled Caste
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TLC	Total Literacy Campaign
TRSG	Technical Resource Support Group
TURN	Teacher's Unique Reference Number
UDT	Upper Division Teacher
UEE	Universal Elementary Education
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPE	Universal Primary Education
VEC	Village Education Committee
VER	Village Education Register
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All (1990)
WDEFA	World Declaration on Education for All
WEF	World Education Forum (2000)
ZP	Zilla Panchayat (District Council)



## Glossary of Indian terms

Abhiyan	Campaign/mission
Adivasi	Indigenous peoples (sometimes referred to as 'Tribals')
Andolan	Movement
Anganwadi	Government run pre-school day-care centres
Bacchi	A girl
Badhna	To grow, progress, develop
Bhai/bhaiya	Brother
Bharatiya	Indian
Bhatta	Allowance
Bimaru	Sick/ill
Brahman	One of the four varnas/castes - Brahmin
Chakki	Hand mill/grinder
Chula	Stove
Dalit	The 'down-trodden'
Didi	(Elder) sister
Eklavya	An Adivasi boy in local mythology
Ghoonghat	Veil
Gotra	Clan
Guruji	Teacher (Guru, with suffix 'ji' denoting respect)
Hai	Is
Hairjan	God's People (term given by Ghandi)
Jamana	Times/to organise
Jan	People
Janpad	District
Jati	Sub-caste
Kabhi-jabhi	Once in a while
Karmi	Worker
Katcha	Unripe, building made from non-permanent materials
Kendra	Centre
Kopi	Exercise book (literally 'Copy')
Kshatriya	One of the four varnas/castes
Kushi	Happy/happiness
Likhi	Written
Lok	People
Mahila	Lady/woman
Masti	Fun, misbehaviour, non-malicious 'naughtiness'
Mhengai	Dearness
Mohalla	Locality
Motiwali/wala/waley	The fat one (Feminine/masculine/plural masculine/respectful)
Nagar	Town
Nani	Mother's mother
Padhi-likhi	Educated
Padhna	Read, to learn
Palika	Municipality
Panchayat	Panchayat (Organisation of Government/Council)
Phukayenge	To blow, to burn
Pradhan	The chief
Prathmik	Primary
Pukka	Permanent, definite, solid, concrete/robust building
Sagar	Wisdom

Samaj	Society/community (sometimes used as 'Caste')
Sampark	Contact
Samvidha	Contract
Sarva	All
Sasural	The family home of a girl's in-laws
Seekh	Knowledge
Seekhna	To learn
Shiksha	Education
Shikshak	Teacher
Shudra	One of the four varnas/castes
Sikhana	To teach
Tehsil	Revenue (not administrative) 'block' within a district
Theek (hai)	(It's) okay
Theek nahi (hai)	(It's) not okay
Varna	Caste
Vaishya	One of the four varnas
Vidya	Education
Vidya-sagar	Sage, wise person
Zilla	District

#### Hindi phrase

#### English Translation

Chulha phukayenge	He'll make me light the mud stove
Gram Panchayat	Village Council
Jan Shiksha Kendra	People's Education Centre
Kushi-Kushi	Eklavya's primary education textbooks
Lok Sampark Abhiyan	Contact the People Mission
Mahila Padhna Badhna Andolan	Women's Literacy and Development Movement
Mhengai Bhatta	Dearness Allowance
Nagar Palika	Municipal Council
Padhna Badhna Andolan	Literacy and Development Movement
Panchayati Raj	Decentralised governance
Pradhan Paathak	Head Teacher
Prashika	Eklavya's primary education curriculum package
Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission	Rajiv Gandhi Education Mission
Samvidha Shikshak	Contract Teacher
Saraswati Shishu Mandir	Saraswati Children's Temple.
Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan	Education for All Campaign
Seekhna-Sikhana	MP government primary education textbooks
Shiksha Karmi	Education Worker
Shiksha Panchayat	Education Council
Tehsil Panchayat	Tehsil/Block Council
Zilla Panchayat	District Council

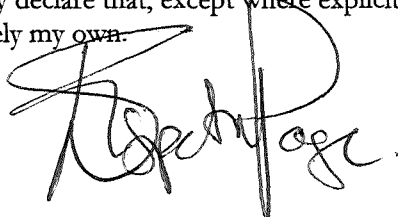
## Acknowledgements

This thesis has been a long and challenging adventure, throughout which I have received much more support and encouragement than can be individually acknowledged. I am deeply grateful to the pupils of Vidya and Sagar schools, to the families, teachers, officials and communities of Nakuur and to friends and colleagues in India, of whom I must mention some: Anita Dixit; Amita Sharma and the staff of RGSM Bhopal; Anita Rampal, everyone at the various Eklavya offices, everyone at Landour Language School, Mussoorie, Uttranchal, especially Rakesh Nautiyal, Mohamed Tasleem Sayfi and Dinkar Rai; everyone at SIDH, Mussoorie, particularly Gajendra Giri; Gill and Alan Penny; Gopal Krishna Thakur; Heleshwar Singh Chandrosha; Julia Betts; Kalyani and Amman Madan; KK Krishna Kuma; Kratika Chauhan and family; KS Rathod; Linda Campbell, Rosie and Julian; Manoj Singh; Mihir Joshi; Milind Shaligram; Mohan Srivastava; Nandini Manjrekar; P Pandey and family; Rajaram Sharma and Vidya MS; Ramesh Rawat; Rinkou Passey; Rocky Kerney; Rohit Dankar and Reena; 'Rounak Tiwari'; Sandhya Samuel; Saroj Chaturvedi; Shobha Chaubey; Shushmita and Shekhar Dutt; Shyam Menon; Sujata, Sanjeev and Rashmin Khandekar; Vandana, Bhpuendra and Shiney; Vijaya Sherry-Chand; Vijay Laxmi Jain; Vimala Ramachandran and Yogita Chauhan. I am indebted to all my patient friends; to the solidarity provided by 'fellow-travellers' on the PhD road; to the Institute of Education and the support of Elaine Unterhalter, Liz Brooker and Marianne Coleman; to Shyam Menon at Delhi University: my 'in-country mentor', and to my examiners, Fiona Leach and Meg Maguire. I offer deep thanks to the ESRC, for granting a studentship for the research, and to Teresa Tucker at the ESRC, Catherine Haberfield at IOE and Syed Rizvi at the MHRD University Section, for being so persistently positive and supportive. I am grateful to the UK Department for International Development and the University of London, Central Research Fund for financial contributions. Special thanks are due to Dr David Dowson of Avon Complementary Medicine, to Russ Bartley for all his technical and practical wizardry and to Gerry Czerniawski, Helen Davis, Joni Stasieczko and Kamala Achu. The greatest debt is owed to my family, whose constant support is priceless.

## Declaration of word length

Thesis, including footnotes	98,124 words
Appendices	19,075 words
Bibliography	7,880 words

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Signed: 

Date: 1<sup>st</sup> September, 2005  
e-mail: elspethpage@yahoo.com

## Dedication

The thesis is dedicated to the pupils of Vidya and Sagar schools, and to Kratika Chauhan.

# Chapter 1      Development as Freedom: against which gendered odds?

## 1.1      The study

### 1.1.1      Rationale

This study is set in Madhya Pradesh, north central India, where development policy between 1993 and 2003 was framed within the capability approach of Nobel Laureate economist Amartya Sen (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:iii). Reforms initiated by the Congress government of Madhya Pradesh (in power during this period) centralised the pursuit of liberal democracy, equality, women's empowerment and universal elementary education<sup>1</sup>. Policy emphasised both the criticality of targeting girls in the effective pursuit of universalisation agendas, and state support for egalitarian, empowering transformations in gender identities and relations (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002).

By the turn of the millennium, however, the reality in much of Madhya Pradesh bore little resemblance to policy visions. In 1999, survey data<sup>2</sup> suggested that, of girls in the state between 15 and 19 years, 37% were illiterate, 7% had not completed primary school, but were literate, 24% had completed primary school, 17% had completed middle school, and only 13% had studied for more than eight years (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:22)<sup>3</sup>. Although policy valued educational achievement as foundational for enhanced female public-sphere participation, such achievements and the public-sphere were deeply marked by gender inequality, and there was little evidence of state support for challenge to the gendered status quo.

---

<sup>1</sup> In Madhya Pradesh, the first eight years of schooling.

<sup>2</sup> Following much contemporary usage, the term data is used in the singular throughout the thesis. This discussion refers to Madhya Pradesh data from the second National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2), conducted in 1998-99.

<sup>3</sup> These figures were 15%, 9%, 31%, 28%, and 14% for boys. See Appendix 6, Table 3 for tabular representation of this data for Indian and Madhya Pradesh.

Much literature produced in the 1990s suggested that strong resistance to change in gender identities at the 'provincial' level perpetuated these educational and representational inequalities. It suggests that many families, especially the poorest, are resistant to girls' schooling, much more so to their enhanced autonomy. It implies that girls are products of their upbringing, 'socialised' into subordinate identities, with neither agency nor vision for lives different to those modelled at home. Finally, it hints that teachers, both women and men, as products of the highly classed and patriarchal societies in which schools are located, are indifferent to gendered inequalities and to the concerns of poorer girls.

This position has been increasingly challenged in the last five years, however, and there is an urgent need for contextualised research exploring both what enables girls' academic success *and* the transformation of their gender identities: the life-styles, behaviours, attitudes and aspirations they feel it appropriate and thus legitimate to pursue. As family authority is still considerable and girls' social interaction is restricted, it is also important to explore the influences of families, teachers and officials (in their interactions with schools) on these processes.

### 1.1.2 Focus, questions and theoretical frameworks

The investigation is a mixed-methods case study, following a dual-case design, with an initial emphasis on ethnographic exploration. It is set in two government elementary school classes: a Standard 5 class from a large urban primary school (Vidya<sup>4</sup>) and a Standard 8 class from a small rural/peri-urban middle school (Sagar). At the outset of the fieldwork, both classes had diligent teachers and no stark gendered difference in enrolment, attendance, persistence or achievement.

The thesis, grounded in fieldwork conducted with three pupil cohorts over three academic years, focuses primarily on 42 girls in the 2002 to 2003 academic year, their teachers and families. It asks:

---

<sup>4</sup> All names of people, places and institutions have been changed, except those of Madhya Pradesh state, Eklavya and the translator of taped interviews.

1. What are the gendered educational aspirations and practices of girls, their families and teachers?
2. What informs these gendered aspirations and practices?
3. What educational and autonomy achievements are enabled by the intersection of these aspirations and practices?
4. What shapes girls' different aspirations and achievements?

The exploration is loosely framed within the capability approach of Amartya Sen and the social embodiment paradigm of Robert Connell, and draws insights from feminist, reproduction and critical social theory. The capability approach provides a broad framework for assessment of government policies, practices and implementation; institutions and their functioning; and the foundations and outcomes of education. Connell's approach provides the framework for analysis of the construction of gendered identities, focussing on commonsense assumptions about the nature of the differences between people, informed in turn by 'the way things appear' across the four structures of gendered power, production, emotional and symbolic relations.

Although framed by these theoretical insights, the study is largely inductive. Analysis draws on six data sets: policy/project documents and statistics are contextualising secondary sources; textbooks and supplementary materials, and observation, background and interview data are primary sources. The study draws extensively on Indian literature. Literature, methodological approaches, data collection instruments and data sets are triangulated and data collection and analysis continued in iterative cycles throughout the fieldwork.

### 1.1.3 Structure

The thesis is divided into three parts.

Part 1 contextualises the study. This chapter ends with a background section: an overview of global development orthodoxy; reasons for the focus, theoretical frameworks and literature; and a note on caste. Chapter 2 provides the contextual setting: overviews the capability approach; describes the Indian literature; explores the policies and commitments of the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh, and

assesses national and state progress towards women's empowerment and gender equality. Chapter 3 situates the study within Connell's social embodiment framework, briefly discusses relevant western and development literature, then focuses on Indian literature addressing gender equality, social change, identity formation and education.

Part 2 outlines the study, setting and local regimes. Chapter 4 outlines the questions, methodology, methods and complexities of the research. Chapter 5 describes the district setting, profiles educational reform and schooling regimes and introduces the focus-schools, the teachers and Cohort 3 pupils and families. In Chapter 6, Connell's framework is applied to the exploration of gender regimes in the district, town and village, whilst the principles of the capability approach are used to guide exploration of professional and institutional regimes. Both activities provide background to analysis in the following chapters.

Part 3 focuses on the two schools, classes, girls and their families. Chapter 7 explores family education aspirations for their daughters, the factors shaping these aspirations, and their outcomes. Chapter 8 investigates teachers' gender rhetoric and practices, their aspirations for pupils and professional practices, the factors shaping these aspirations and practices, and the 'returns' to schooling for pupils at each school. Chapter 9 focuses on the practices of the six teachers associated with both focus-classes and the outcomes of these practices and explores the reasons for these outcomes. (Both chapters 8 and 9 address all pupils, boys as well as girls). Chapter 10 focuses on Cohort 3 girls, explores their aspirations and the factors shaping them, analyses their concern with all aspects of schooling and summarises their achievements.

I conclude the thesis by reviewing the study and findings, relating the findings to the theoretical and policy frameworks and reflecting on the research process and areas for further research.

## **1.2 Background**

The following section provides a brief overview of global development orthodoxy, to situate the capability approach and the study in their wider global context. I then explain the genesis of the study and end with a note on the terminology of caste and social group, as this is integral to all subsequent discussions.

### 1.2.1 Global development orthodoxy

Sen's framework reflects and is reflected in global development orthodoxy: both are founded on the enhancement of liberal democracy (UNDP, 1990). The essence of global development orthodoxy is encapsulated in the human development paradigm of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (widely disseminated since 1990 through annual Human Development Reports (Fukuda-Parr, 2002) and, most succinctly, in the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), adopted in 2000 by all 189 UN member states (UN General Assembly, 2000; UN General Assembly, 2001:19; UNDP, 2003). (MDGs are listed in Appendix 1, Table 1).

Sen has been a major contributor to the evolution of the human development paradigm: initially providing the conceptual framework, and continually supporting conceptual enrichment and the development of measurement tools (Fukuda-Parr, 2002). The first Human Development Report (HDR), launched in 1990 with the explicit intention of refocusing 'development economics from national income accounting to people-centred politics' (Haq, 1995) outlined how economic growth should translate into human development, and introduced the Human Development Index (HDI). The 1995 report, *Gender and Human Development*, premised on the argument that 'human development, if not engendered, is endangered', introduced the Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) (UNDP, 1995:1). The 1997 report, *Human Development to Eradicate Poverty* introduced the Human Poverty Index (HPI). (See Appendix 1, Table 4 for a list of HDR titles, illustrative of the evolution of the human development paradigm, and Table 5 for formulae for calculating the indices). Complex indices to demonstrate national progress against each of the MDGs were introduced in the 2003 HDR (UNDP, 2003).

The centrality of women's empowerment, and their education, to development is captured in the third MDG: 'the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women'. The target for MDG3 is 'the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015' (UN General Assembly, 2001). The indicators for progress are (i) the ratio of boys to girls in primary, secondary and tertiary education, (ii) the ratio of literate women to men in the 15-24 age group, (iii) the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector, and (iv) the proportion of seats held by women in national



parliaments (UN General Assembly, 2001). All MDGs built on considerable global experience. The second MDG, the achievement of universal primary education, drew most significantly on the 1990 *World Declaration on Education for All* (WDEFA) (WCEFA-I Jomtien, 1990) and the 2000 *Dakar Framework for Action* (DFA) (WEF-II Dakar, 2000). The third MDG built on decades of gender activism and declarations, most significantly the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (FWCW Beijing, 1995b; FWCW Beijing, 1995a). (See Appendix 1, Paragraphs 1 and 2, Tables 2 and 3 for a summary of these processes and recommendations). The inclusion of these two goals among only eight for global development, into the centre of mainstream development orthodoxy, has focussed attention and debate on issues that have concerned many for decades. As gender mainstreaming (rather than add-on interventions) has become a major priority for the World Bank, specialised UN agencies (particularly UNESCO and UNICEF) and bilateral donors, interest and funding is increasing for interventions, research and policy advice.

The global community has learnt from this experience, scholarship and insight. In 2001, the World Bank's policy research report, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*, argued that 'development policies that do not take gender relations into account and do not address such disparities will have limited effectiveness' (World Bank, 2001: back cover) and offered 'policy-makers, development specialists and civil society members ... lessons and tools for integrating gender into development work' (World Bank, 2001:xii). The British Department for International Development (DFID) published its own gender manual (Derbyshire, 2002). UNESCO produced guidelines for gender responsive EFA plans (UNESCO, 2003b) and for promoting gender equality in education (UNESCO, 2003c). The 2003/2004 EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) *Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality* outlined progress towards the MDGs, shared innovations, best practice and national and international strategic priorities (UNESCO, 2003a). UNICEF's 2004 *State of the World's Children: Girls, Education and Development*, focussed on the second and third MDGs, starting with the reflection from Kofi Annan that 'there is no tool for development more effective than the education of girls' (UNICEF, 2003:vi).

Notwithstanding this scholarship, the emphasis on the criticality of girls and women's education has tended to encourage focus on the provision of primary/elementary

education<sup>5</sup> and programmes for women's literacy. Progress has been assessed in terms of percentages of relevant populations enrolled, persisting and passing terminal exams for each level, and of women 'declared literate' (UNESCO, 2003a). This has repeatedly resulted in the elision of favourable performance against these proxies with greater female autonomy and even gender equality, notwithstanding low female representation in political processes or paid employment among the same sample (Heward and Bunwaree, 1999). Due to these elisions, girls who complete eight years of schooling are framed as more empowered than those who do not: education is framed as empowering per se. The seriousness of this situation is compounded by the fact that such elisions appear even in Sen's own practical applications of the capability approach (Unterhalter, 2003a; Rampal, 2005).

These elisions have clearly been influenced by the position of women in many developing countries and the nature and inadequacy of measurement data. In contexts where illiteracy is high; where many have no access to school or do not progress beyond a few years; where data as basic as performance in terminal exams is uneven and often unreliable and where many women are denied participatory freedoms, proxies of female literacy and years in school offer one comparative tool to assess early moves towards provision for increased agency. They cannot be seen, however, as synonymous with empowerment of transformed gender identities and relations. This thesis explores some of the reasons why.

### 1.2.2 Genesis of the study

Many experiences and goals determined the focus and location of the study and the choice of theoretical frameworks and literature.

Three years' experience as a VSO teacher development co-ordinator in The Gambia, West Africa raised concerns about the neo-imperialism inherent in much of this work (Leach, 1994). Reflection, during MA study, on the ways in which this imposition persistently undermined local confidence and capabilities to challenge the western mainstream led to deep engagement with the intersection of feminist, post-colonial and post-development concerns (Page, 1997). My imagination was captured by Indian

---

<sup>5</sup> In Madhya Pradesh, 5 and 8 years of schooling.

traditions of resistance to western hegemony, which I believed to be deeply significant for contemporary global development debates.

I worked with the Department for International Development (DFID) in India from March 1998. The most pressing professional question of this period was how the twin national goals of universal elementary education (UEE) and the 'upliftment' of women might be pursued, yet there seemed to be few extended analytic, empirical explorations addressing these challenges accessible to the international community.

Work with DFID-India included identifying outstanding educational initiatives to support quality improvement of the public sector. After months of research, I became increasingly interested in the work of Eklavya in Madhya Pradesh, and used it, with their collaboration, for a problem-based masters' level exercise at the London Institute of Education. As my understanding of the possible lessons to be learnt from Eklavya's work grew, so did my frustrations. Given existing literature, I felt it would be impossible to gain an adequate understanding of the interventions, outcomes and implications of Eklavya's work without speaking Hindi and spending considerable time in their fieldwork areas, with associated teachers. Furthermore, although most literature on Indian government teachers informing supra-national policy cast them in a very negative light, I had met creative and dedicated teachers during DFID work. (Many official interactions had been mediated through senior officials, however, who appeared to be saying what they felt teachers should be saying, rather than translating their perspectives). I felt teachers were being misrepresented and used as scapegoats at micro and macro levels.

I decided to pursue research, in Hindi, and initiated a year of consultations with Indian policy makers, activists and academics before submitting a PhD proposal to the ESRC. This was followed by a second year of consultations before finalising the fieldwork site and design, and conducting the pilot study.

During consultations, four experiences led me to question the legitimacy of my exploration in provincial Madhya Pradesh. The first was that the goals of women's empowerment and gender equality did not appear to be widely shared in India beyond the highest level of policy formulation. The second was the ground-level reality that, in

2000, the position of most women and girls and the condition of government education left much to be desired: in addition to community resistance, therefore, there appeared to be minimal political will to implement reform agendas. The third reason was the resistance of some Indian academics and activists to the gender focus. The final one was that a common reaction to the research reflected assumptions that gender equality and 'empowered' women were western impositions inappropriate in provincial India.

Neither my knowledge of global and Indian development debates, nor of the emphases of the UNDP, or the India or Madhya Pradesh HDRs allayed my insecurities. Given contemporary emphasis on the importance of 'community participation' and my own fear of undervaluing local knowledge, I needed a framework within which I could position my concerns and focus my energy with integrity. Sen's *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 2000), offering a holistic development framework that 'made most sense' and converged with central feminist tenets, led me to reassess the contribution and significance of the UNDP reports and of the debates on participation, voice and democracy, and gave me the conviction needed to conduct the study with confidence.

The explicit acknowledgement, by the Madhya Pradesh government, of debt to Sen's development vision (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998a:vi; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:iii) confirmed my choice of fieldwork state. Within their 'human development' framework, the state was engaged in educational reform<sup>6</sup> that sought to transform female identities from what were perceived as prevalent subordinate, domestic forms to empowered ones embracing confident participation in economic, political, and social spheres. The study would thus be conducted in a state where policy and programmes were officially grounded in the principles of the capability approach. This enabled focus on 'school-family-community' features, within a broader, overarching 'social transformation' package, and reflection on the challenges and issues of implementation, of both educational and broader reforms.

I wanted to conduct research with a wide range of teachers, to ensure a varied experience of training, curriculum and professional development, and especially to include some whose experiences were more positive than those assumed typically (Kumar, 1990; Seetharamu, 2000). I therefore chose the district because of the long-

---

<sup>6</sup> The District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) then Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA).

term presence of Eklavya and their involvement with both primary and middle school teachers.

A significant consequence of this choice was that fieldwork was conducted in a district that had not experienced any state-initiated educational reform. Although DPEP, a product of global development orthodoxy and designed as a democratic reform of primary education, had been launched in select districts of Madhya Pradesh from 1994, Nakuur had not been included, so, by the start of the fieldwork, the 'environment building' phase of SSA had only just begun. The exploration is thus not an evaluation of DPEP, but an exploration of attitudes and practices prior to major state educational intervention.

Given the scope of the study, there was a vast body of western, development and Indian literature from which I could draw. I believed it was essential to ground the exploration in national perspectives, and, as previous experience had enabled familiarity with much western and development literature, the thesis is primarily constituted by Indian scholarship. I purposefully review Indian literature without a gender focus as well as gender literature, as the foundations for, and achievement of success are non-negotiable baselines for enhanced participation and autonomy.

As Sen neither engages deeply with the nature or content of education, nor problematises the central processes of empowering identity transformation, I contextualise his work within the broader Human Development paradigm of the UNDP, and supplement it with work of international feminists and reproduction theorists exploring identity transformation and social change. Connell's framework appealed as its comprehensiveness enabled the most efficient use of my experiences and gender journeys, as well as the fieldwork, and because I felt it was sufficiently 'loose': I felt comfortable using it to guide explorations in the very different cultural context of provincial India.

### 1.2.3 Terminology of caste/varna and social group

I end this introduction with a background note on caste, as it is integral to all subsequent explorations.

In the traditional Hindu four-tier varna system, Shudras were labourers and servants, Vaishyas traders and artisans, Kshatriyas warriors and aristocracy and Brahmins priests and scholars (Liddle and Joshi, 1986:58-59). Each varna was composed of different occupational communities (jatis), which were subdivided into extended 'clan' networks (gotras) (Bayly, 1999).

Contemporary government statistics differentiate four social groups: Scheduled Tribe (ST), Scheduled Caste (SC), Other Backward Classes (OBC) and 'Others'. In this classification, the 'lowest' varna/caste was divided into three social groups: ST, SC and OBC, whilst the other three varnas, Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and Brahmins, were classified as one social group: 'Others'. This has led, in popular usage, to ST, SC and OBC being seen as three separate castes/varnas (whereas they are of one caste/varna, but three different social groups).

The first two groups (ST and SC) are referred to as 'Scheduled' as they were 'scheduled' in the Constitution for special development efforts. Scheduled Tribes, also referred to as Adivasis, are indigenous peoples. Scheduled Castes, also referred to as Dalits (meaning oppressed) or Harijans (meaning Children of God, a title given by Gandhi) were regarded as 'Untouchables'. (I use the terms Adivasi and Dalit as ST and SC have become derogatory). OBCs, although from the Shudra sub-division, were from jati groups considered 'higher' than Adivasis and Dalits. They were also recognised in the Constitution as being 'socially and educationally backward and in need of protection from social injustice' (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000:22).

In 1999 Adivasis, Dalits and OBCs comprised 60% of India's population (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000:23). Forty percent were thus 'Others': 20% were Hindus from Vaishya, Kshatriyas and Brahmin castes (sometimes termed 'caste Hindus', 'general caste', or just 'general'), 11% were Muslims, 3% were Christians and the remainder Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and other 'Others'. The hierarchical caste/jati structure of Hinduism has been absorbed by and is reflected in other faith communities, especially among the poorest. Despite the apparent contradiction, there are 'low' and 'high' caste Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians, especially where there is large-scale conversion of Dalits to Buddhism or Christianity (Srinivas, 1996a).

The next chapter outlines the capability approach; problematises the nature of related Indian literature; applies the capability approach to exploration of the policies, commitments and aspirations of the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh, then evaluates national and state progress towards greater democracy, women's empowerment and gender equality.

## Chapter 2      The capability approach, India and Madhya Pradesh

The research sits in an environment of ambitious national and state objectives, major challenges in measuring progress and complex intellectual controversy. This chapter outlines the capability approach and government policies; explores problems of implementation and the measurement of progress, and examines the extent of academic knowledge of this environment. The overview provides the ‘macro’ background to the lives explored in the thesis, illustrating government commitment to wider democratic participation and the enhancement of human capabilities. Before addressing the policies, I describe key features of the nature of the Indian literature from which this and the following chapter draws. Both sets of literature respond to the research questions. The majority of that reviewed below, outlining the setting for the study, is non-gendered. That reviewed in Chapter 3 has an explicit gender focus. In this context, both are equally foundational.

### 2.1      The contextualising framework: the Capability Approach

The work of Amartya Sen has spanned decades, disciplines and institutions, amongst them the Delhi and London Schools of Economics, Harvard and Cambridge Universities, UNDP and the World Bank. Nine years after he began his advisory role to the HDRs, *Development as Freedom* was published (elaborating on lectures presented to the World Bank in 1996), to place a synthesis of his approach in the public domain ‘for open deliberation and critical scrutiny’ (Sen, 2000:xii-xiv). The scholarship, cogency and ‘sense of fit’ of his framework have led to its wide appreciation, critique and extension. For the purposes of this thesis, I focus primarily on *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 2000) and *India: Development and Participation* (Drèze and Sen, 2002).

#### 2.1.1      Freedom: the ‘stuff’ of development

The central contributions of *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 2000) lie in describing how development should be conceived ‘for the greater global and individual good’ and in



presenting an empirically substantiated case in support of certain ‘mechanisms’ for the pursuit of development conceptualised in this way – for all and any societies, whether popularly termed developed or developing<sup>7</sup>. In this paradigm, development is conceived as the expansion of individual and national capabilities for reasoned choice.

Expansion of freedom is viewed ... both as the primary ends and principal means of development. Development consists of the removal of various kinds of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency. (Sen, 2000:xii).

Sen argues that approaches to justice should thus focus on the equitable distribution of capabilities, rather than wealth, utilities or primary goods, as argued within other paradigms (Sen, 2000:74). Capabilities represent freedom, *real* opportunities for individuals to make informed, rational choices: they are not internal states. One dimension of a capability may be an internal state, but as it will have been constructed within an unequal order, it is not ‘innate’. Such real opportunities for choice rely on opportunities for substantive democratic participation in determining the priorities and practice of communities, societies and nations<sup>8</sup>.

Given the difficulty of measuring capabilities, focus is extended to functionings, commodities and ‘capability sets’. A capability is a real opportunity, a functioning is a realisation of one real opportunity, and commodities are goods and services that ideally help enable functionings (Sen, 1987:36). An individual’s ‘capability set’ includes all her capabilities, which could be combined in different ways to achieve one or more specific types of functioning (her achievement/s). Commodities thus both influence, and are a part of, individuals’ capability sets, but the relationship of commodities to capabilities and functionings is influenced by personal, social and environmental conversions factors (Sen, 1992:117-128). Most empirical applications, including all HDRs and *India: Development and Participation* (Drèze and Sen, 2002) have focused on achieved functionings and the commodities deemed instrumental in their achievement. Weak assessments of functionings and commodities are thus indicative of impoverished real opportunities and arrangements for those opportunities.

---

<sup>7</sup> The terms developing and developed are problematic: I use the terms development, developing and developed, despite my distrust of dichotomies and rejection of the implied evolutionary superiority of nations termed developed

<sup>8</sup> Capabilities necessary for physical survival and poverty avoidance are termed ‘basic’, relevant for ‘deciding on a cut-off point for the purpose of assessing poverty and deprivation’ (Sen, 1987:109). Poverty, starvation and deprivation represent denial of the most basic freedoms needed to construct valued lives: their elimination is thus the least negotiable and most urgent step on the path to development.

Sen talks of five instrumental freedoms: 'political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security' (Sen, 2000:38), the last of which he describes as:

Fixed institutional arrangements such as unemployment benefits and statutory income supplements to the indigent as well as ad hoc arrangements such as famine relief or emergency public employment to generate income for destitutes (Sen, 2000:40).

Political freedoms consist of a functioning democracy and legal system, including de facto as well as de jure rights; economic opportunities stem from a functioning market economy; and social arrangements cover provision for health, education and protective security. It is not just the 'existence', however, but fundamentally the 'quality' - the functioning and equity of these instrumental freedoms - that is crucial to development. Sen states:

Our opportunities and prospects depend critically on what institutions exist and how they function. Not only do institutions contribute to our freedoms, their roles can be sensibly evaluated in the light of their contributions to our freedoms. To see development as freedom provides a perspective in which institutional assessment can systematically occur. (Sen, 2000:142).

This evaluative perspective applies to institutions from macro political, economic and social level to those of the school, community and family.

The capability approach articulates a strong equity role for the government, suggesting that governments aggressively pursuing neo-liberal economic policies are not acting in the best interests of democracy and development. This presents a sustained challenge to the long dominant economic model of development, perpetuated through the policies of the World Bank/IMF and countries bound to their conditionalities.

Development conceptualised in this way obviously depends on admitting the legitimacy of universal values, including human rights, equality and justice, regularly defended in Sen's critique of communitarian rejection of universal norms (Sen, 1999:6; Sen, 2000:227-248). It can be argued that the approach builds on the 'secular, rationalist and sceptical culture' has shaped western human sciences from the nineteenth century (Connell, 2002:116,119). Sen argues, however, that these traits are not uniquely 'western', but deeply rooted in many non-western traditions (Sen, 2000:232-240). He

argues that reason should come before group affiliation (or group identity) in determining 'how one should think and what one should identify with' (Sen, 1999:21). The notion of informed, rational citizens, provided with empowering political, economic and social arrangements to enable (social) choices informed by procedures 'that rely on democratic search for agreement' is fundamental (Sen, 2000:79). Equally central is commitment to the efficacy of public action in the endeavour to keep governments, especially reluctant ones, to their obligations.

Commitments to rationality, participatory democracy, justice and equality provide a framework for the evaluation of choice (and the 'freedom to choose' central to the approach). This includes the choice of values and attitudes that have variously been associated with social, cultural or religious norms, values or traditions. Such norms (often linked with the justification and perpetuation of hierarchy, inequality and unthinking conformity) must be scrutinised and subjected to informed public debate, enabled through the 'tripod' of instrumental freedoms.

Although Sen refuses to specify the choices that empowered individuals may make, the approach *does* assume that with the appropriate foundations, individuals will see the wisdom of, and be inclined towards, participatory citizenship: across economic, political and social arenas. Choices embracing this type of citizenship and identity are deemed more personally and socially fulfilling than those rejecting it.

### 2.1.2 Women's equality and empowerment

The need for women's empowerment is fundamental to Sen's entire thesis on 'the legitimacy and need for the people affected to participate in deciding what they want and what they have reason to accept' (Sen, 2000:32). He states:

Nothing, arguably, is as important today in the political economy of development as an adequate recognition of the political, economic and social participation and leadership of women. (Sen, 2000:203).

Sen demonstrates that a focus on agency is the most effective way to enhance wellbeing (the focus of earlier development programmes) and that broader social regard for female wellbeing is encouraged by enhanced female public-sphere participation and agency (Sen, 2000:191). He recognises the complex relationships between

empowerment processes and variables of education, ownership, employment opportunities, the 'workings of the labour market', employment arrangements, family and societal attitudes to women's economic activities, and the 'social circumstances' affecting these attitudes (Sen, 2000:202).

The pursuit and achievement of women's equality is not only a matter of justice, but also one of the most powerful and least negotiable strategies available to governments pursuing national development (Sen, 2000:202). Where rights-based approaches and arguments for the intrinsic benefits of women's empowerment failed to capture the imagination of the powerful and policy-makers, instrumental arguments are gaining ground (Kabeer, 1999:435).

Sen's stress on the instrumental importance of women's empowerment may be a strategic choice, but regardless of presentational emphasis, the entire approach applies to women, as citizens, as it does to men. The empowered woman central to the approach is one who is not only able to participate in society, in ways that contribute to the creation of environments conducive to human, especially female, flourishing, but who also chooses to. As Martha Nussbaum comments in *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, it 'squares pretty well with demands women are already making in many global and national political contexts' (Nussbaum, 2000a:27).

By continuing to make his case with persistent substantiation, Sen acknowledges that this approach to gender is still not widely shared, especially in many developing countries, or in indeed any environments where 'religious fundamentalism, political custom or the so-called Asian values' (Sen, 2000:32) attempt to 'choke off' participatory freedoms.

### 2.1.3 Gender and education

The most immediately apparent contribution of *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 2000) to educational debates is its demonstration of the importance and benefits of basic education *for everyone* in the pursuit of national development. The combination of this position with the insistence that social norms must be assessed and scrutinised through rational debate enhances the universal case for female education.

Sen states that education should enable individuals to ‘effectively shape their own destinies’ (Sen, 2000:11) and enable the development of critical agency (Drèze and Sen, 2002:274). Beyond this, however, there is little deep exploration of the nature or content of education. Sen’s work also tends to focus on formal schooling and adult literacy arrangements, and on the instrumental justifications for government investment. These justifications even appear to suggest a linear input-output model, wherein the provision of, and girls’ or women’s persistence through school or the ‘achievement’ of literacy lead to enhanced empowerment and the type of agency vital for national development. A negative consequence is that statistics as basic as enrolment, persistence or the achievement of ‘literacy’ have been used as proxies for empowerment: this elision actually features prominently in *India: Development and Participation* (Drèze and Sen, 2002), especially in the treatment of ‘The Schooling Revolution in Himachal Pradesh’ in Chapter 5.

These elisions (regardless of their presentational causes) reject the spirit of the capability approach. An holistic understanding illustrates that Sen is as concerned with the intrinsic value of education for girls and women as he is with its instrumental value: this position is the backbone of his approach - that human freedom *per se* is constitutive of development as well as conducive to it. He also acknowledges the complexity of empowerment processes, nowhere assuming that the provision of ‘adequate’ basic education alone will automatically result in female empowerment. An ‘adequate’ education within the capability approach would thus be one that provides all pupils with the foundations for substantive economic, political and social participation, which enables everyone to develop their capacities to make reasoned choices and lead the lives ‘they have reason to value’. Neither enrolment in primary or even middle school, persistence to Standard 5 or 8, nor the achievement of basic literacy can be deemed adequate, but the first step in the process towards greater equality.

The capability approach provides clear guidance for development policies. It emphasises the state’s social obligations, prioritising arrangements for enhanced political, economic and social freedoms which privilege investment in transparency, health, education and social security ‘for all’, over excellence and privilege for the few. It demonstrates why it is so important for women to enjoy the rights and responsibilities of citizenship *as men do*, that the achievement of equal citizenship depends on women’s

empowerment, and why ‘empowered’ gender identities are best suited to individual and social/national wellbeing. It provides a normative framework within which to assess and debate social norms, especially class, caste, religious or gender ones, which can silence rational debate on identity options. It demonstrates why social policy must strategise to address the ways in which personal, social and environmental factors affect the conversion of commodities/goods and services into capabilities and functionings. It outlines why institutions should function within, and be assessed according to, democratic frameworks. Finally, it emphasises the fundamental importance of knowledge for change processes, and of providing the most enabling environments for individuals to come to informed rational choices. These wide-ranging guidelines offer, for many, a holistic framework for development which ‘makes more sense’ than any other presently available<sup>9</sup>.

#### 2.1.4 Relevance for the study

In relation to this study, the pursuit of the five ‘instrumental freedoms’ is perceived as the essential framework for the possibility of equitable transformations in subordinate identities and relations. Beyond this macro, crosscutting framework, the regimes operating within these instrumental freedoms are taken as indicative of their ‘quality’. I identify four regimes central to a holistic application of the capability approach: distributional regimes; professional/institutional regimes; knowledge regimes and gender regimes.

Within the framework of the capability approach, empowering transformations in gender identities and relations are best enabled when government policy and programmes are founded on commitment to the five instrumental freedoms; when the foundational distributional and gender regimes encourage full democratic participation and where government attends to social, environmental and personal conversion factors; when knowledge regimes are founded on the relative nature of knowledge and the need for public debate and consensus, and when professional and institutional regimes are founded on the principles of the capability approach.

I use the term distributional regimes to refer to ‘who has or gets what’ and the quality of that which is available to different groups. Who, for example, has access to what

---

<sup>9</sup> Critiques and applications of the capability approach are explored in Chapter 3, Section 3.

political representation? Who benefits from existing economic opportunities? Who benefits from existing 'institutional arrangements' for health, education and protective security? Are transparency guarantees effective? Is there genuine freedom of information? If these arrangements are inadequate, who benefits from the status quo? Does the government attend to the social, environmental and personal conversion factors that would shape the equitable enhancement of human capabilities and freedoms? I use the concept of professional and institutional regimes to refer to what it means to be a professional – either teacher or educational bureaucrat – within particular professional and institutional environments: which aspirations and practices are encouraged and which ones undermined. I use the concept of knowledge regimes to refer to the ways in which knowledge is popularly conceptualised – as absolute and unchanging, or relative and creative – and to the epistemological foundations of education and achievement. Finally, following Connell's conceptualisations, gender regimes refer to the ways in which women and men are conceptualised, positioned and either privileged or excluded by power, production, emotional and symbolic relations.

The study thus explores government commitment to these instrumental freedoms, and how the negotiation of government agendas shapes the 'quality' of their foundational distributional, professional/institutional, knowledge and gender regimes.

Before exploring the priorities, policies and programmes of the government of India and Madhya Pradesh through the 'lens' of the capability approach, the next section discusses the nature of the literature addressing democracy, gender and education in India.

## 2.2 Indian literature: three discourses

There are five constituencies producing very different types of knowledge about education in India. The first group encompasses work commissioned by Indian or state governments; the second that commissioned by the World Bank and bilateral partners, significantly the European Union (EU) and DFID; the third is that encouraged and supported by UN agencies, significantly UNESCO and UNICEF; the fourth that produced from NGO/activist experience, and the final group is independent academic literature, produced either in-country, by Indians working or studying abroad, or by foreigners. Accessible literature (in English) does not include contributions from

government elementary school teachers (nor from district officials). The absence of teacher voice in the creation of knowledge about school processes and teacher attitudes and practices renders teachers objects, rather than active subjects of research, undermining empowerment processes and enabling them to become the scapegoats for many inadequacies and much malpractice<sup>10</sup>.

The literature spans three development discourses, and associated educational and gender discourses. The first is that of modernised national development, to enable competitive advantage in the globalised economy, and is encapsulated in the annual *World Development Reports* of the World Bank. The second is also that of progressive development, but with a greater emphasis on justice, equality and the enhancement of democratic processes to enable greater local capacity for and involvement in determining agendas: encapsulated in the *Human Development Reports* of the UNDP. The third embraces an alternative, 'post-development' resistance to the neo-imperial, homogenising tendencies of the global development orthodoxy, and thus to the 'Education for All' (EFA) agenda. As it is the marginalised discourse, this one is not encapsulated in any 'mainstream' annual publication. Although the discourses are quite distinct, the literature within each one spans a continuum, so some work in each discourse is close to the margins of the next. Appendix 2, Table 1 outlines some features of each discourse, but in stark, 'caricaturised' terms that do not capture these continuums, or the ways in which discourses change over time and how others influence this process.

The first discourse, predominantly that of national and state governments and development agencies, is, by this very nature, the mainstream, the cultural arbitrary (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:4). It has undergone considerable change during the post-colonial decades of the twentieth century, however, most significantly during the final decade. Prior to this, development was conceptualised primarily in economic terms, and education valued for its enhancement of human capital. This hegemony was continually contested, however, and as the validity of alternative arguments was proven, the mainstream model changed, reflecting these insights. The literature of the first discourse thus may build on or express theories and concerns central to the second. The difference lies in the primary concern: both discourses value education for its

---

<sup>10</sup> This is the pattern in most of the literature that existed in 2000.



instrumental value, but the primary concern of the first is the state, whilst that of the second is the individual, within the state.

The third discourse, that of 'post-development' critiques, is the most marginalised, and literature of this category is the most difficult to find, much more so feminist literature. Just as the second discourse was marginalised and now powerfully informs the mainstream, however, the focus of the 2004 HDR '*Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*' (UNDP, 2004) suggests that global orthodoxy is turning to insights from this discourse. The difference between scholarship on the margins of the second and third discourses lies in the extent to which rational liberalism is embraced or rejected. While the second discourse could be seen as 'ethically individualist', the third is more communitarian, wherein, theoretically, community interest takes precedence over that of the individual.

Every discourse incorporates attention to gender, but feminist work sits squarely within the second. (Most of the literature reviewed in the thesis comes from the second discourse. See Appendix 2, Paragraph 2 for samples of literature from the first and third discourses). Gender concerns of the first discourse focus on the instrumental value of gender equality, female education and empowerment, as they do in non-gender aware work of the second, whilst in the third, especially in religious movements, women's interests are often seconded to those of the community, or obedience to religious traditions<sup>11</sup>. In Connell's analysis, the gender position of this discourse could be seen as part of the backlash against increasing equality, displaying features of 'cultural movements which ... claim that women's advancement is damaging to the family, to children, or to religion' (Connell, 2002:149). In gender-blind work of the first two discourses, the state, social groups, and even citizens are often 'non-gendered', but not neutral: male experience is treated as the default and groups are homogenised, abstracted to 'male'. In work of the third discourse, women and their 'roles' are often viewed as 'essentially' different from those of men.

Very little of the literature addresses more than one or two elements of my focus: none encompasses gender identity and empowerment, elementary education, government provision, quality, processes and outcomes simultaneously. There is a vast literature on

---

<sup>11</sup> A contemporary example is the BJP critique of gender equality as a western cultural imposition (Manjrekar, 2003).

women's lives and gendered experiences, but almost no sociological analyses focus on girls and female teachers within government elementary schools. Only a small proportion of the literature addressing epistemological issues, curriculum, pedagogy, teacher training and (mal) practice has a gender gaze. No feminist institutional analyses incorporate a government school gaze, whilst critiques of gender training do not focus on teachers, pupils or parents.

## **2.3 Indian policies, commitments and programmes**

This next section explores the policies, commitments and programmes of the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh; focussing on the 'institutional arrangements' for democratisation, gender equality and universal elementary education.

### **2.3.1 Democratisation**

From the early 1990s, the development agendas of India, and Madhya Pradesh in particular, have been framed within the pursuit of liberal democracy, and focussed on the enhancement of institutional mechanisms and human capabilities to encourage the broadest democratic and economic participation (Shariff, 1999; Government of India, 2002b:1; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c). Two of the most significant national reforms, in terms of enhancing arrangements for greater participation, were the liberalisation of the Indian economy in 1991 and the decentralisation of governance under the Panchayati Raj system, following the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendments in 1994. (See Appendix 3 for the ruling parties in India and Madhya Pradesh).

### **2.3.2 Gender equality and universal elementary education**

Commitment to gender equality and universal elementary education (UEE) within Independent India was first articulated in the Constitution (Singh, 1996; Ramachandran, 1998:149; Government of India, 2001b). Concern about the neglect of women's education was noted from the First Five Year Plan (FYP) onwards and in 1959 a committee was mandated to explore problems and options. In the 1960s, two committees and a commission led into the 'equal opportunities' and 'instrumental' gender emphasis of the 1968 *National Policy on Education* (Nayar, 1993). In the 1970s, the

National Council for Women's Education and the Committee on the Status of Women in India informed the declaration of the Fifth FYP (1975-80) that the achievement of UEE demanded specific gender focus (Nayar, 2000b). Influence of the UN International Decade for Women was reflected in the Sixth (1980-85) and Seventh (1985-90) FYPs, the 1986 *National Policy on Education and Programme of Action* (NPE/POA) and the 1989 launching of the nationwide Total Literacy Campaign (TLC).

The 1990s paradigm shift in development policy was mirrored in women's policy, from a focus on welfare to a strongly articulated commitment to empowerment and full participatory citizenship (Nayar, 1997a:598, 619-620; Nayar, 2000a:2-3; Government of India, 2001b). The 1990 WDEFA, the establishment of the National Commission for Women, the SAARC<sup>12</sup> Decade of the Girl Child and the Indian National Plan of Action for the Girl Child (1991-2000) all contributed to the 1992 revision and re-issuing of the 1986 NPE/POA, emphasising the importance of women's equality (Ramachandran, 1998:148-156).

National commitment to empowerment was articulated in the Ninth Five Year Plan (FYP) for 1995 to 2000, with the specific objective of 'empowering women as agents of social change and development' (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002e). This was reiterated in the Tenth FYP (Government of India, 2002c), and re-affirmed in the National Policy on Women, issued in 2001, after 6 years of negotiation (Government of India, 2001b).

Women, previously conceptualised within the welfare paradigm as passive and needy recipients of government and family benevolence, were re-conceptualised as agentic subjects whose participation in public-sphere economic, political and social realms was crucial for the eradication of poverty and development. This shift marked a radical change in the 'form' of female identity endorsed by government, and was marked by a proliferation of policies and strategies aimed at enabling a transformation in female identities from subordinate, domestic forms to empowered ones framed around gender equitable public-sphere participation (Nayar, 1997a; Nayar, 2000a; Ramachandran, 2000).

---

<sup>12</sup> SAARC – South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation

Women's policies address political, judicial, economic and social arenas, and all stress the need for educational achievements to enable greater public-sphere participation and progress towards gender equality. Education policies and programmes of the 1990s reflect the same valorisations. The language of the 1986/1992 NPE was bold and radical, declaring that:

Education will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators'. (Government of India, 1992a:10, Paragraph 4.2).

The TLC, launched from 1989, prioritised women's mobilisation and empowerment (Dighe, 2000). DPEP, launched from 1994, aimed to reduce all social disparities in primary enrolment to 5% within 5 years (Government of India, 1997). The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) launched from 2000, designed to universalise DPEP efforts and extend them to elementary education, aimed for the elimination of all social gaps in enrolment, retention and learning achievement at the primary stage by 2007, and their reduction to 5% at the middle stage (Government of India, 2002a:25)<sup>13</sup>. At this time all educational programmes and schemes were brought under the SSA umbrella, run from the reformed Department of Elementary Education and Literary (DEEL). In 2002, fifty-five years after Independence, the Constitution (86<sup>th</sup> Amendment) Act finally declared education for six to 14-year-olds a 'Fundamental Right within the meaning of Chapter III of the Constitution' (NCAS Research Team, 2002:1; The Tribune, 2002).

DPEP and SSA were designed to address problems of centralised management and accountability and increase democratic participation (Government of India, 1997; Government of India, 2000; Government of India, 2001c; Government of India, 2002c). DPEP initiated decentralised planning and management, with administrative offices at national, state, district and block level. Creation of Village Education Committees (VECs) and Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs) coincided with the formation of Gram Panchayats (village councils). Training, including gender training, was provided for all new functionaries (EdCil, 2000).

---

<sup>13</sup> As a result of these initiatives, schools are required to return pupil statistics disaggregated by sex, religion and social group: ST, SC, OBC or 'Other'

Given its strong gender equity objectives, DPEP (and later SSA) extended many existing gender initiatives, grouped under the following categories: ensuring school entry; ensuring retention; improving the reach of schooling; making environments and processes girl friendly; encouraging community support, and ensuring gender equity in curricula and materials (EdCil, 2000:67,68-131; Government of India, 2002a).

Increasing demand for teachers was met with recruitment of unqualified teachers (given many titles<sup>14</sup>, but referred to as para-teachers in DPEP literature). Some worked in established government schools, others in new 'alternative', community or non-formal schools. DPEP, SSA, and states developing alternative cadres justified this move as extending the reach of schooling to distant villages, and as gaining committed teachers by selecting village residents who would be managed by Gram Panchayat, VEC and even PTA members (EdCil, 1999b).

Considerable attention was paid to rapid training of para-teachers and in-service training for existing ones, but there was no national reform of the pre-service system (Dyer, 1996; Dyer and Choksi, 1997; World Bank, 1997; Khosla, 1998a; Khosla, 1998b; Khosla, 1998c; Khosla, 1998d; Rajput and Walia, 1998; Seshadri, 2000; Rampal, 2001). The four year Bachelor of Elementary Education has been pioneered at the Central Institute of Education at Delhi University and affiliated colleges since 1994, but the experiences and lesson learned had not been mainstreamed to the pre-service system by 2000 (MACESE, 1991; MACESE, 1996; MACESE, 1997; MACESE, 2001). DPEP introduced a 'cascade' of academic/resources centres from national to 'school cluster' level, to enhance teacher engagement with professional processes and better enable their contribution to 'knowledge on education'. Training was provided at District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETs), supported by State Councils for Education and Training (SCERTs) and, in some cases, Regional Institutes of Education (RIEs).

The NCERT<sup>15</sup> and SCERTs are the apex bodies for development of curricula, textbooks and materials, although DPEP and SSA encourage decentralised curriculum and textbook review/renewal. In 1991, Minimum Levels of Learning (MLLs) were established for Language, Maths, Environmental Studies and 'non-cognitive areas' for the primary stage (NCERT, 1991; Taylor, 1991). In 2000, the MLL framework was

---

<sup>14</sup> Including Shiksha Karmis, Samvidha Shikshaks, Gurujis.

<sup>15</sup> National Council for Educational Research and Training

extended to Standard 10 under the National Curriculum Framework (NCF2000) (NCERT, 2000). (Curricula areas specified for each level are outlined in Appendix 4). Introduced by a BJP government, the NCF2000 is under review, with the new Congress government promising change during 2005 (Manjrekar, 2003; Rampal, 2005).

### Section reflections

By 2000, India had established many broad policy parameters for enhancing the ‘instrumental freedoms’ essential for greater individual and national development. Attention focussed on political, economic and social arrangements, notably including gender equality and elementary education. The next section investigates policies and programmes in Madhya Pradesh.

## 2.4 Madhya Pradesh policies, commitments and programmes

This section explores the policies and programmes of the government of Madhya Pradesh, and the innovative government collaboration with Eklavya.

### 2.4.1 Democratisation

In Madhya Pradesh policy discourse, human development is presented as the goal of state development endeavours (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998a:1). The 2002 *Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report* (MPHDR), significantly subtitled *Using the Power of Democracy for Development*, presents the post-1994 vision for education as framed within the state’s overall vision of human development, ‘grounded on decentralisation, lateral accountability and increasing space for direct action’ (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:18). Strategies to achieve the goal are framed within notions of political decentralisation and the enhancement of opportunities and capabilities for democratic participation (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:1). Correcting deprivations faced by Dalit and Adivasi communities is presented as an urgent priority (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:9), as is women’s empowerment (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1995; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002e; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2003b). Education is valued for its intrinsic contribution in enabling the realisation of human potential and its instrumental contribution in making political democracy ‘full-blooded’ (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:3).

## 2.4.2 Gender equality and universal elementary education

The MPHDR acknowledges that, despite national commitment to UEE in the 1986 NPE, it was first mentioned in state documents in 1994 (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:17). This coincided with the launching of the governmental Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission, ‘carved out of the education sector for focussed action’ (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998:6), which was tasked to universalise access to primary, then elementary schooling, improve retention and quality and accelerate progress in adult literacy (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002g:1). DPEP was launched in select districts<sup>16</sup>, with support from the European Union (EU), later the World Bank.

The RGSM based early outreach on a participatory data collection and micro-planning process in 1996, the Lok Sampak Abhiyan (LSA-I)<sup>17</sup>. Responding to LSA-I, the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) was launched in 1997 (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000b), facilitating the 1998 declaration of the achievement of universal primary enrolment (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002g:2). From 1999 DPEP was extended to include the remaining twelve districts (of the redefined state) and to elementary provision under the SSA. In 2002, after 8 years of state initiative, the government launched the People’s Education Act, committing itself to the provision of quality elementary education as the right of every child (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002d; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2003a).

Initiatives to eradicate adult illiteracy began in 1990-91 with the Total Literacy Campaign and were revitalised from 1999 through the Padhna Badhna Andolan (PBA: Literacy and Development Movement), with a woman-focussed campaign (Mahila PBA) launched in 2002 (Sharma, 2003a).

Madhya Pradesh was particularly committed to the decentralised management systems of DPEP, and made particular efforts to institutionalise local ownership through PTAs, VECs and Gram Panchayats (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:19). These bodies were particularly significant in relation to EGS schools, as they had powers to

---

<sup>16</sup> DPEP Districts - DPEP I (1993), DPEP II (1997), non-DPEP/SSA (1999): MP:17:16:12 Chattisgarh: 9:6:1

<sup>17</sup> A second round of LSA in 2000-2001 (LSA II) assessed primary progress and mapped gaps in the middle school level.

appoint, discipline and even end the service of Gurujis (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000b; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:21,24).

By 2001, there were three major types of provision for the primary stage: government schools, established non-formal 'Alternative Schools' (AS) and EGS schools (EdCil, 1999b). There were seven grades of teacher, spanning 11 pay points, with some grades restricted to different types of school. The top four grades were established posts, spanning four points: principals, lecturers and head-teachers (from middle schools and above); Upper Division Teachers (UDTs, not employed in primary schools); and Lower Division Teachers (LDTs). The lower three grades were new posts, spanning 7 points: Shiksha Karmis (SK), with three sub-divisions; Samvidha Shikshaks (SS), also with three sub-divisions; and Gurujis. (See Appendix 5 for grade hierarchy, pay and incentive guidelines). In 1994, the state had ceased recruiting UDTs and LDTs, replacing them with Shiksha Karmis and Gurujis's, later adding Samvidha Shikshaks (EdCil, 1999b; Seetharamu, 2000; Seshadri, 2000).

In terms of curriculum and syllabi, the state follows national guidelines, but legislates on and produces its own curriculum and syllabi for mainstream, non-formal (AS) and EGS schools (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000a). Curriculum for each school type varies, with that followed in mainstream schools being the most formal and academic. The primary curriculum has undergone numerous revisions: these began collaboratively in 1994, but by 1998 most decisions and actions were taken by the SCERT (explored in the following section). After an external review of mainstream/SCERT, EGS and Eklavya packages in 2000 (Kothari, Sherry Chand and Sharma, 2000), primary textbooks have undergone two revisions. As strategic focus was only broadened to elementary education under the SSA, there was no major middle school curriculum reform during the 1990s.

Despite revisions, by 2001 primary and elementary curricula were formal and didactic. Syllabi stipulated for the primary level include Hindi, Maths and Environmental Studies (EVS), with English at Standard 5. Hindi, Sanskrit, Maths, Science, Social Science (History, Geography and Civics) and English are stipulated for the middle level. Despite the national framework specifying visual and performing arts, physical and health and work education (See Appendix 4, Paragraphs 1 and 2), there is no mention of



art, craft, music, drama, dance, PE, life skills, personal or health education (including sex and HIV/AIDS education) or extra curricular activity in state documents. Families bear the responsibility for providing textbooks, although, in theory, they are provided free to certain socio-economic groups (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c).

Most government schooling is Hindi-medium, whilst more prestigious private schools are English medium or Saraswati Shishu Mandir Hindi medium. The school year runs from July (during the rainy season) to April (as the summer heat is reaching its peak) and is divided into three terms. Pupils sit quarterly, half yearly and annual exams in September/October, December/January and March/April. There are board exams at Standard 5 and 8, the terminal classes for the primary and middle levels. Pupils failing a maximum of two subjects in board exams can re-sit 'Supplementary' exams two months later. If they fail one of these papers, they have a final chance to resit at the beginning of the next academic year, and are automatically promoted if they pass. If they fail again, they can repeat the previous year, request a 'transfer certificate' for another school or leave completely.

#### 2.4.3 Innovatory collaboration with Eklavya

Eklavya was formed in 1982 with full-time membership of teachers, university and college faculty, administrators and graduates and a resource group with (by 1999) members from over 44 organisations (Eklavya, 1999:8,9). In 1973, curricular collaboration, which had begun between the Congress government and Eklavya's 'parent organisations' had been formalised in the Madhya Pradesh Textbook Act (Eklavya, 2001b:22).

Eklavya's work is grounded on commitments to rationality, justice, equality, democracy and the efficacy of public action (See Appendix 4, Paragraph 3 for statements of belief and educational approach). It is founded on the recognition of acute social inequalities, the ways in which they are perpetuated by schooling, and the belief that education must be *designed* to enhance informed reason and reflection. Commitment to secularism is emphatic, but gender analysis is understated, with commitment to gender equality incorporated within a non gender-differentiated concern for equality. Much of their literature is not particularly gendered and there appears to be no applied, theoretical feminist critique.

Eklavya works within the formal system, following independent syllabi, teaching approaches, textbooks, materials and assessment procedures. Programmes are designed to be practical, exploratory and centred on children's needs and learning styles. (An open-book examination system is followed in the Science programme, where textbooks can be taken into theory exams that test analytical reasoning. Remaining marks are earned through practical experiments without textbooks). Government teachers are regarded as central to all educational efforts, but also as under-recognised, regulated and utilised in the present system. Teacher, curriculum, textbook and material development are purportedly guided by principles of equality, respect and participation. Trainings and paper-setting/marking meetings are organised regularly, and teacher support meetings are organised on a monthly basis (Eklavya, 1999).

Eklavya's first field trial, Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP) started in 1972 in 16 middle schools in Hoshangabad District, expanded to all middle schools by 1978, and was seeded in all 13 district of Hoshangabad, Indore and Ujain by 1986 (Eklavya, 1999:12; Eklavya, 2002a). The second trial, a middle school Social Science programme initiated in 1986 in 8 schools from 3 districts, was based on teacher interest (Eklavya, 1999:17; Eklavya, 2001b:i,1,23) and remained small-scale, undergoing review in 1995 (Eklavya, 2001b). Experiences within these two trials suggested an acute need for improvement at the primary level (Raina, 1998:47), and in 1987 Prashika, with Kushi-Kushi textbooks, was launched in two districts, initially in 7 schools, extended to 25: and in 1995 was adopted by all 130 schools of Shahpur Block, Betul District.

With the launching of DPEP, government established a Technical Resource Support Group (TRSG) to guide curriculum renewal (Rampal, 2000b:23). When proposals for field trials were invited, SCERT, Eklavya (with Prashika) and Shikshak Samakhya responded. Drawing from the collaborative experiences, a new package, Seekhna-Sikhana, was introduced for Standard 1 in 1996, and by 1997 established until Standard 3 across the state (Raina, 1998:46,48; Rampal, 2000b:24). By 1998, the collaborative process was becoming strained: supportive SCERT staff were transferred, advisory bodies disbanded and 'voluntary agencies distanced' (Rampal, 2000b:25). New SCERT officials 'reverted to traditional patterns' (Kaul et al., 1998) and government directives stipulated state-wide use of the revised textbooks (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998b; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1999b; Government of Madhya Pradesh,

1999a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000a). The new books, still called Seekhna Sikhana, bore little resemblance to the earlier package. (The Prashika trial continued in Betul, but was closed in the other district).

By 1999, 2.5 million pupils and 5,000 schoolteachers, principals, headmasters, DIET faculty and administrators had interacted with Eklavya (Raina, 1998:48). In 2002, however, the government (also Congress) closed the HSTP and Social Science programmes, followed by Shahpur Prashika in 2003 (Raina, 2002a). This occurred in the face of considerable resistance from pupils, teachers, academics, NGOs and international supporters, with apparently little regard for the democratic processes within which the programmes had flourished. The government's position was that the two programmes were too old to be still considered a trial, and that the state should follow a uniform curriculum, syllabus and textbook package (Gopalakrishnan, 2002). With the closure of their formal school programmes, Eklavya continued to support teachers on an informal, interest basis and to negotiate with the state for new forms of collaboration (Eklavya, 2002b).

#### *A note on Eklavya literature*

Eklavya's school-based programmes are described in the most detail in four publications, only one of which, describing HSTP, is readily accessible, being available on-line (Eklavya, 2002a), whereas the others, an evaluation of the social science programme (Eklavya, 2001b), an overview of the primary programme (Agnihotri et al., 1994) and a profile of the organisation and all programmes (Eklavya, 1999) are more difficult to obtain. Many brief overviews are available (Passi, 1997; Shotton, 1998; Nawani, 2000), and deeper exploration of certain dimensions is often central to the writings of Rampal (repeatedly referenced), Saxena and Raina (Raina, 1998; Saxena, 1998; Raina, 2002b; Raina, 2002a). The considerable debate prompted by the 2002 closure has generated a vast on-line resource, providing a more 'spontaneous' feel of the nature, principles and passions of the debate<sup>18</sup>.

---

<sup>18</sup> See <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/> for links to 33 journal and newspaper articles, reports or commentaries addressing the government closure of Eklavya in 2002. (Consulted 28.10.04).

## Section reflections

Many of the policies and programmes of the Madhya Pradesh government appear as ‘ideal applications’ of the capability approach, particularly the collaboration with Eklavya, until the final stage, which appeared to contradict it.

Having outlined national and state policy and programmes, the next section explores what the literature says about implementation, beginning with an overview of quantitative presentations of progress.

### 2.5 Progress against national and state goals

I begin this section with an exploration of the quality of statistical data available for comparisons. I demonstrate that the non-availability of the data required to chart progress against gender and education MDGs undermines the validity of the exercise, then use national quantitative sources (all of which have their limitations) to sketch an overview of progress. I then turn to more qualitative explorations.

#### 2.5.1 Statistical and quantitative issues

Whilst India can appear a ‘statisticians’ paradise’, the reliability of vast databases of social sector statistics is questionable (Drèze and Sen, 2002; Ramachandran, 2004a; Visaria and Ramachandran, 2004). Educational statistics, in particular, tend to rely on Gross Enrolment Ratios (GERs), or numbers rather than percentages (with inadequate data to calculate the latter), and are not simultaneously disaggregated by sex, socio-economic and ethnic background.

Appendix 6 Table 1 presents the goals, targets and indicators for the second and third MDGs. Table 2 shows the performance of India and Madhya Pradesh against these indicators. Of the ten possible entries, India data is only available for eight (and the reliability of seven is questioned) and Madhya Pradesh data is only available for one, presented against two indicators. Appendix 6, Paragraph 4 illustrates how the collation of all available data provides little insight in to India’s progress against UEE and gender equality goals. Whatever the statistics do *not* tell us; they undeniably demonstrate poor progress.

Statistical representations within the thesis thus draw primarily on two large-scale, independent social surveys and a smaller educational one. The first is the *India Human Development Report* (IHDR), conducted by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) in 1994 (Shariff, 1999). It was a rural survey, covering 33,230 households in 16 states and 195 districts of India, including 25 districts and 4,320 rural households in Madhya Pradesh (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000). The second is the *Second National Family Health Survey* (NFHS-2), conducted from 1998 to 1999. Throughout India, 61,337 rural and 27,862 urban, 'ever-married' women from 15 to 49 (and their households) were surveyed. Of this number, 5,112 rural and 1,829 urban women were from Madhya Pradesh (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001). The third is the *PROBE Report*<sup>19</sup>, which explored parental views on education, school and class environments, teacher practice and education management, and rapidly became a landmark text on public education and equity (PROBE Team, 1999). It was based on a 1996 survey of 1376 households from 234 random villages in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh.

As nationwide reforms of primary and elementary systems were only in their seventh and first years at the outset of the study, the collection date of statistical data is vitally important, as 2001 census data shows a major decadal change in educational statistics<sup>20</sup>. As IHDR data was collected in 1994, as DPEP was being launched, it can only offer a baseline. The PROBE survey was conducted in 1996, two years into DPEP, and the statistics, often presented through qualitative analysis, are not directly accessible. NFHS-2 statistics were collected in 1998-99, four/five years after DPEP, so will be the most indicative of progress. The studies are not directly comparable, however, as IHDR was rural, NFHS-2 urban and rural, PROBE more random, and only IHDR national data is disaggregated by sex and social group.

As India reiterated its commitments in Dakar in 2000, the goal of universal, equitable education remained distant. By 2001, of the 207 million children between 6 and 14 years, 40 million were still out of school. The majority were girls and 'difficult to reach groups' (Government of India, 2002c:34). Indicators for men and boys, southern states, urban areas, higher socio-economic and caste groups and those with literate parents

---

<sup>19</sup> Public Report on Basic Education

<sup>20</sup> The results of the 2001 Census would have been the most appropriate, but relevant data sets are not yet easily accessible.

were superior to those for women and girls, northern 'Hindi Heartland' states, rural areas, lower socio-economic and caste groups and those with illiterate parents (Shariff and Sudarshan, 1996; Shariff, 1999:102; Government of India, 2001a; Drèze and Sen, 2002; Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2002:1602). Adivasi and Dalit girls were amongst the most educationally excluded (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:41; Jha and Jhingran, 2002; Ramachandran, 2004a). IHDR data shows that only 8.7% of rural women with illiterate parents were literate: and India's female literacy rate was still only 54.16% in 2001 (Government of India, 2001a:115). IHDR data analysed elsewhere demonstrates the relationship between land ownership and literacy in rural communities and the fact that men of all groups were twice as likely to be literate as women, the gap being widest amongst landless wage labourers (Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2002:1602). NFHS-2 found that of 15 to 19 year-old youth, only 26% of boys and 21% of girls had studied beyond middle school (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000:28) (Results for all levels are presented in Appendix 6, Table 3).

As Madhya Pradesh entered the new millennium, proactive political commitment to the pursuit of gender equality and UEE was barely a decade old. Only 11 years had elapsed since the initiation of concerted efforts to eradicate illiteracy, 10 since economic liberalisation, 7 since commitment to a development paradigm focussed on the enhancement of human capabilities for substantive participation, 7 since the initiation of decentralised governance and reservations therein for women, 7 since concerted efforts to improve primary education, 6 since the first state policy for women's empowerment, and only 1 since the initiation of (the planning stage) of SSA. By 2001, policy frameworks and institutional arrangements for democratic and gender reforms were in their infancy: even pupils enrolling from the first year of DPEP would not have yet completed elementary schooling. NFHS-2 shows that of 15 to 19 year old youth, only 17% of boys and 13% of girls had studied beyond middle school (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:22) (See Appendix 6 Table 3). It indicated superior literacy, access and completion rates of urban women, underwritten by caste inequalities: literacy rates for general caste, OBC, Dalit and Adivasi women were 60.4%, 31.1%, 19.6% and 13.5% respectively (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:41). Completion of all levels of education decreased in the same way, with a non-Adivasi, Dalit or OBC woman being 27 times more likely to complete higher secondary education and above than an Adivasi woman (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:41).

## 2.5.2 Qualitative explorations, issues and challenges

Having sketched the ‘macro’, quantitative overview, I now turn to explore more qualitative representations. Due to the limited availability of explorations unique to Madhya Pradesh, the following exploration focuses on national literature. This literature can be read in the light of the fact that, in the 1990s, Madhya Pradesh was one of India’s six ‘least developed’ states and the term ‘BIMARU’ (meaning ‘ill’) was applied to the four considered the most ‘behind’: Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh<sup>21</sup>.

### 2.5.2.1 UEE: quality, equity and equality?

The PROBE report found high parental aspiration for education, undermined by poor quality provision; absent, irregular, ill-equipped or disengaged teachers; ‘an overloaded curriculum, unfriendly textbooks, oppressive teaching methods and exacting examinations’ (PROBE Team, 1999:6). It portrays a failing system, opening with the assertion that:

[T]he schooling system is nowhere near ready to provide education of decent quality to every child. ... [T]he rhetoric of education as a fundamental right is going hand in hand with an unprecedented retreat of state commitment. (PROBE Team, 1999:1-2).

It summarises ‘endemic’ discrimination (p49) including differentiated facilities depending on location; caste and class-based discrimination; concentration on higher grades and achieving children; and ‘sexism, gender stereotyping and bias’ in interactions, curriculum and learning materials (PROBE Team, 1999:49-51).

Most contemporary literature confirms this bleak image. An overview of twenty-five studies commissioned to chart India’s progress against 1990 EFA goals emphasises persistent inequalities, firmly rooted in issues of investment and poverty (Govinda, 2000). A 1998 edition of *Seminar* (published as part of a nationwide campaign for ratification of the right to education) deplores the state of national education (Seminar, 1998). Drèze and Sen emphasise the highly political nature of education, its ‘remarkable neglect’ in many states (Drèze and Sen, 2002:38), the ‘flagrant inadequacy of

---

<sup>21</sup> The other two were Orissa and West Bengal (Shariff, 1999:viii).



government policy' (p144) and acute class and gender inequalities. (Caste inequalities seem, however, consistently underplayed).

In 1999, India's annual per capita income was approximately US \$440, a figure camouflaging vast inequality and poverty: over 34.7% of the population were below the poverty line of US \$1 per day (UNDP, 2003:199)<sup>22</sup>. At the turn of the millennium '30-40% of the population in educationally backward areas were barely able to meet their survival needs' (Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2002:1604). Considerable investment was required to provide quality education to over half the population, but the necessary financial commitments did not underwrite India's policy rhetoric<sup>23</sup>. Despite the recommendations of the 1971 Kothari Commission Report (Government of India, 1971) to raise public expenditure on education to 6% of GDP, this ratio declined from 4.4% in 1989, to almost 3.6% in 1997 (Drèze and Sen, 2002:166). In addition, early educational focus and investment was biased towards higher education providing for the elite few (Varma, 1999)<sup>24</sup>.

As efforts were made to expand provision under a constrained budget (Bashir, 2000; Tilak, 2000) quality was inevitably compromised. This erosion resulted in the creation of a two-track school system where those who could afford it, patronised private schools (De et al., 2000). State primary schools began to serve only the poorest groups in society to whom politicians and the administration felt little accountability (PROBE Team, 1999; Varma, 1999). Wazir blames this two-track system for the 'widespread and acute' societal apathy about government provision (Wazir, 2000:21). Pressures on the state system thus magnified both as finances diminished *and* as it became less accountable.

The historical and persistent dominance of higher castes within the upper and middle classes has been widely documented (Wolpert, 1991; Srinivas, 1996a; Bayly, 1999), as has the predominance, amongst the poor and excluded, of lower castes (Hindus and Muslims) and Adivasis (Quigely, 1993; Shariff, 1999; Varma, 1999; Seminar, 2001a; Shariff, 2002). The total elision of class and caste is, however, powerfully refuted, in

---

<sup>22</sup> Poverty line equivalent to \$1.08 (1993 PPP US\$). Data refers to the most recent available: 1990-2001.

<sup>23</sup> Sen has repeatedly drawn out the stark comparison of the education policies of India & China and the benefit of investment in basic public services as a strategy to increase economic development (Sen, 2000; Drèze and Sen, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> In 1999, only 11.2% of men and 5.6% of women surveyed had completed Higher Secondary School or above (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000:28).



explorations of class divisions within OBC, Dalit and (less so) Adivasi communities, especially of the deep rifts and violence stemming from the domination of 'reserved positions' by the rich and influential within targeted communities following the 1993 Mandal Judgement<sup>25</sup> (Srinivas, 1996b:xiii). Increasing urbanisation, mechanisation, occupational diversification and education, processes often paralleled by a reduction in religious observance, have increased socio-economic mobility for some from OBC, Dalit and Adivasi communities, and vast income and life-style inequalities now exist within caste, jati and Adivasi groupings (Mukherjee, 1999). But the evidence of patterns of reproduction as theorised by Bourdieu remains powerful: those of 'heritage' nearest the base of caste, jati and ethnicity hierarchies are the majority within the most excluded, deprived and derided groups, especially in rural areas (Gupta, 2000; Seminar, 2001a). Urbanisation and associated processes have altered class composition and caste dynamics for many in cities, except for those from jatis associated with the most degrading tasks (Prashad, 2001). Individual experience, however, in rural areas remains heavily informed by class status, and within that, by caste and jati, ethnicity, and/or religion (Mukherjee, 1999; IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000).

A thriving, non-competitive public sector, the reality of bureaucratic corruption and the tendencies even in private organisations to employ those from shared caste, jati or gotra groups emphasised the importance of networks/social capital over academic merit (Sen, 2000:127; Das, 2002; Drèze and Sen, 2002:55). By 1999, 60% of India's population were Adivasi, Dalit or OBC (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000:22) the majority with access to few, if any, influential networks associated with education or employment.

For many, the lack of employment/income returns to schooling is diminishing the appeal of education (Jeffrey, Jeffrey and Jeffrey, 2005). Families from India's most educationally excluded communities are sceptical of the potential of low priority, under-resourced government education to bring anything but disappointment and increasing alienation from traditional networks and occupations (PROBE Team, 1999; Prashad, 2001; Jha and Jhingran, 2002; Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2002:1603; Balagopalan, 2003; Subrahmanian, 2003; Ramachandran, 2004a).

---

<sup>25</sup> Excluding some members of each social group from the 'reservations' allowed to them on the grounds that they belonged to the 'creamy layer' at the top of each group (Srinivas, 1996b:xiii).

#### 2.5.2.2 Teacher professionalism

Sustained qualitative enquiry into the attitudes (gender or otherwise) of Indian teachers is rare<sup>26</sup>. There are limitless quantitative investigations, but none addresses inequality/exclusion (Rajput and Walia, 1998). Regardless of the absence of research, however, the World Bank's *Primary Education in India* states categorically:

[T]he capacity of the teaching force to deliver high-quality education is constrained by historical deficiencies in ... education and training and the absence of performance incentives. [M]any teachers often have little understanding of the material they teach, possess few teaching skills and are poorly motivated. [A] few states still have few female, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe teachers to serve as role models. (World Bank, 1997:142-143).

The publication does not cite research substantiating its claims or correlations.

Much research, however, documents weak and ineffective government teachers, there are very few studies highlighting 'best practice' and no attempts to generalise the proportions of committed to indifferent teachers. There is little critique of the appropriateness of trainings, of institutional reasons why teachers may be hindered from achieving the desired results, or of the educational system within which teachers are located. In a 1990 survey of research in teacher education, Govinda (Govinda and Buch, 1990) analyses 150 studies, of which only 30 addressed primary education, and 16 primary teacher training (Govinda and Buch, 1990:145). Of the studies addressing training at all levels, the focus was on 'micro-teaching and teaching skills within the broad framework of behaviour modification technology' (Raina, 1999:18).

PROBE acknowledges negative trends in teacher quality, focusing on causes: it offers a brief exploration of teachers' practice, opinions and frustrations. Examples of 'exceptional' best practice are given, contextualised by a de-motivating and frustrating school system. This is repeatedly emphasised in an account from a female teacher from a Delhi girls' school, keen to make a difference, but defeated by the system:

When I took up the job, I sincerely believed that individual effort would bear fruit even in a government school. Now I realise that the perpetuation of the status quo depends on the system's ability to break down dissenting voices. The latitude

---

<sup>26</sup> The one that does exist, 'Missing Voices in the Sociology of the School in India: An Attempt at Restoring Them', by Thapan, is set in an elite, private secondary school and does not encompass a gender gaze (Thapan, 1994).

for initiative and creativity is very limited. Snehlata Gupta (PROBE Team, 1999:59).

Examples of commitment and persistence are, however, outweighed by those of desperately unprofessional behaviour, including teachers keeping schools closed for long periods; being asleep or drunk in school time; pupils having to do teacher's domestic chores; a head-teacher with once-weekly attendance and another who did not know the name of any pupil in the school (PROBE Team, 1999:63). Discrimination, sexism and bias are all cited, but very briefly (PROBE Team, 1999:51).

Many analyses of the current Indian educational scenario include similar critiques. Karlekar states that teachers 'tend to be middle-class men who are rarely prepared for a challenging teaching environment' (Karlekar, 2000:83). She cites a study in Uttar Pradesh, which found that 'teachers were present for only 30 percent of the required time and many schools functioned for much less than their stipulated hours' (Drèze and Gazdar, 1996). Sudarshan reports 'a general perception that there has been an erosion in the quality of the ethic of service among teachers' (Sudarshan, 2000:64), outlining the contribution of 'unsatisfactory remuneration, low status and poor working conditions' to this situation (Sudarshan, 2000:67). Dyer, drawing on PhD fieldwork in Gujarat, states that only three of the 50 teachers in her sample actually wanted to teach, and that the others had chosen teaching 'as a relatively inexpensive route to a settled and secure life' (Dyer, 1996:30).

In many of his publications, Kumar traces the development of the Indian teacher as a 'meek dictator' – 'a powerless subordinate within his own profession' (Kumar, 1990:155): a lowly paid and poorly esteemed civil servant within a centralised textbook, examination and inspection culture that forces teaching of material deemed irrelevant, leading to drill and rote-learning (Kumar, 1991). Although appearing to champion teachers' cause, this discourse actually reduces their agency: excusing their perpetuation of the status quo.

There is a muted discourse praising the creativity and ability of teachers to respond independently and reflectively to local contexts and children's differentiated needs. Eklavya documentation insists that 'teacher involvement in curriculum development is an integral part' of the programme and that 'Prashika has a deep-seated faith in the

creativity of the teacher' (Agnihotri et al., 1994:121). These statements are made in contrast to their understanding of the situation of many government teachers and their training, who:

Treated shabbily by the clerks and officials of the education department (and the tribal welfare department), ... find themselves at the lowest rung of the government hierarchy, ignored, bullied and frustrated. It is not long before the most enthusiastic teachers are demotivated. (Agnihotri et al., 1994:124-125).

It is recognised that teachers operate in difficult circumstances, and that they may not have benefited from the quality of training that would prepare them to work in such environments. Two possible consequences of Eklavya's commitment to the holistic development of *individuals*, thus of pupils *and* teachers, should be considered in the interpretation of studies amongst Eklavya teachers. These are that (i) many of the teachers attracted to the programmes may have already felt some sense of professional commitment (but had no other valued opportunities to enhance professional practice), and (ii) these teachers' self-esteem may have been enhanced by the collaborative atmosphere encouraged by Eklavya.

One study stands out in its celebration of the creativity, commitment and zeal of teachers operating within the state system, even those who may have not benefited from NGO/activist input. Sherry-Chand et al's *Teachers as Transformers* counteracts the prevailing image of teachers as uninterested and aimless, highlighting their agency. The study emphasises the sources of inspiration that teachers found to sustain their motivation over long periods, which range 'from individuals like *gurus*, parents or children themselves, to critical incidents or the scriptures' (Sherry Chand and Shukla, 1998:15). This highlights how Indian government teachers may find inspiration and motivation from sources that a western researcher may not have considered; reinforcing the urgency of contextualised research.

The profile of both the debate on teacher professionalism, and associated literature has increased in the very recent past, prompted by the expansion of 'alternative systems' and para-teachers, leading to inequitable twin-track provision. The policies of the Madhya Pradesh government, with its formalisation of a hierarchical structure within the teaching profession, have come under particular scrutiny and critique (Sharma, 1999; Seetharamu, 2000; Seshadri, 2000; Sharma, 2000). Anita Rampal has addressed the

political nature of such arrangements with reference to the Shishu Shiksha Karmasuchi programme in West Bengal, which she states is anchored in a '*retired*' structure in which '*aged housewives over forty*', with little experience of the formal sector and no unified voice, are trained (in sing-song style) by retired male education officials (Rampal, 2005). Without attention to teacher professionalism, and recognition of the trade-offs between quantity and quality in these vast budget schemes, the MDGs will become another missed target.

#### 2.5.2.3 Epistemology and curriculum

India has a long established tradition of (largely non-gendered) critique of formal education, powerfully informed by Gandhi's challenging reversals within Basic Education (Kumar, 1993a). Much literature challenges the privileging of the national education system as it evolved once the 1971 Kothari Commission Report withdrew support for Basic Education (Government of India, 1971; Kumar, 1998:88-89; Wazir, 2000:21; Rampal, 2005). Education's colonial legacy and its inappropriateness are critiqued in numerous theoretical explorations (Kumar, 1991; Ghosh, 1993; Scrase, 1993; Kumar, 1996; Ganguly-Scrase, 1997; Scrase, 1997; Sinha, 1997; Kumar, Priyam and Saxena, 2001). Post-development literature challenges the entire development paradigm of government and supranational agencies (Rahnema, 1990; George and Jain, 2000; Gupta, Joshi and Crumpton, 2000). Vandana Shiva's gender critique of the destructions/exclusions of western Science shares many fundamentals with this tradition, but is not applied to elementary schooling (Shiva, 1989; Shiva, 1997).

In more applied critiques, government education is presented as founded on a reproductive model, wherein knowledge is perceived as absolute and quantifiable (Kumar, 1989; Kumar, 1992; Kumar, 1994). Rejection of this mainstream epistemology is often underwritten by debate on the purposes of education, highlighting a hiatus between egalitarian policy aspirations and (apparently) unexamined support of reproductive epistemologies, which persistently undermine their achievement (Sharma, 2003b). Deep criticism is levelled against schooling's framing of individuals as passive automatons requiring expert enlightenment (Shotton, 1998; Rampal, 2000b; Yadav et al., 2000), resulting, for many, in alienation and demotivation (Rampal, 1991; Clarke, 2001; Sarangapani, 2003). Rampal argues that pupils are not enabled to reflect and create: at

considerable cost to individuals, communities and national development (Rampal, 1994b; Rampal, 1997; Rampal, 2000a). Others demonstrate how those privileged by current arrangements have no interest in enhancing critical reflection (Saxena, 1998; Talib, 1998; Velaskar, 1998).

Government's *Minimum Levels of Learning* have come under intense critique, with the word 'minimum' often replaced by 'meaningless' (PROBE Team, 1999:79-80). PROBE argues that:

The sacred MLL code has dominated all decisions and actions in school education ... we can see the roots of many classroom problems ... staring directly at us through the pages of these codes (PROBE Team, 1999:79).

Passionate criticism of the NCF2000, channelled into a petition against it submitted to the Supreme Court, echoes the sentiment that it:

[R]eflects the efforts of the Hindu right to seize the opportunity of commandeering the ideological state apparatus of education to push through its regressive agenda at the national level. (Manjrekar, 2003:4578-9).

This theme is echoed in Rampal's exploration of how BJP ideology is mirrored in their support of rote, didactic, reproductive approaches to Science education, and the attempts to close the more exploratory approaches within Eklavya's HSTP (Rampal, 1994a). This same critique is expressed by Chakravarty, who explores the state's projection of the ideal Hindu past through populist religious serials (Chakravarty, 1998a) and by contributors to Seminar 522 *Ways of Representing Our Shared Past* (Seminar, 2003).

The literature documents an 'explosion' in the private tuition industry at every level, increasing investment of family money and pupil time in tuition and home study, and widespread examination corruption, regularly involving teachers: cheating before and during exams, and increasing opportunities to pay bribes to have grades marked up, or a higher pass (PROBE Team, 1999:80-82; Rampal, 2005). The literature also bears testimony to the most tragic cost: an increase in exam-related student suicides (PROBE Team, 1999:81).

Literature extending these critiques to a direct focus on school and classroom processes is gradually increasing. Two major collaborative studies, co-ordinated by Jha and

Ramachandran, provide deeper qualitative documentation of inequality (across class, caste, ethnicity and gender), in terms of access, retention and classroom processes (Jha and Jhingran, 2002; Ramachandran, 2004a), and a 2004 edition of *Seminar* brings together many sharp critiques of the slow transformation of government education (Seminar, 2004). Studies documenting caste-based educational inequalities in access and progression (Anitha, 2000; Kabeer, Nambissan and Subrahmanian, 2003) are being supplemented by qualitative, school and classroom focussed work emerging through association with a DFID-funded study into inclusion and exclusion (Banerji, 1997; Subrahmanian, 1997; Balagopalan, 2003; Balgopalan and Subrahmanian, 2003; Govinda, 2003; Subrahmanian, 2003; Vasavi, 2003). These studies reiterate similar findings: inferior provision and teaching, inequality in terms of school type, enrolment and progression, and discriminatory behaviour towards poor and 'low-caste' children from teachers and other pupils.

### Section reflections

Despite the optimistic policy and programme frameworks of India and Madhya Pradesh, and the difficulty in accessing accurate quantitative assessments, available literature suggests that progress has been inadequate and that there is a tendency towards the replication, rather than disruption of established social hierarchies.

## 2.6 Conclusions and connections

This chapter has outlined the capability approach and sketched national and state policy aspirations and commitments. Policy and programme initiatives suggest enabling frameworks, but that policy oversights and implementation problems have combined to frustrate substantive progress towards state, national and international goals. The literature illustrates the lack of political commitment to the provision of quality elementary schooling, leading to inadequacy in investment, provision and professional and institutional regimes. The epistemology of schooling remains based on a reproductive model that discourages reflection, the creation of new knowledges and challenge to the status quo, and teachers remain both de-professionalised and insufficiently regulated. Adequate foundations for the possibility of progress towards any equality, including gender equality, have not been laid. Even, therefore, using the



highly inadequate proxies of school enrolment, persistence and or literacy ‘achievement’, schooling is not meeting its equity or gender equity objectives.

Accepting the inadequate baseline (in terms of institutional arrangements for instrumental freedoms”) the study moves to a more nuanced exploration of the formation of gender identities. The capability approach, however, although it provides a highly specified framework to analyse institutional arrangements for change, does not offer an equally detailed framework to explore the processes involved in enabling a radical change in gender perceptions and identities *from* those based on male advantage *to* those based on equality. To do this, I use the social embodiment framework of Robert Connell.

## Chapter 3      Social change and identity transformation: the literature

The capability approach is founded on a radical change from subordinate identities framed by male advantage to empowered ones framed around equality. As enabling such change is arguably one of the greatest challenges of any attempt at operationalisation, this chapter explores theoretical debates on the ‘mechanisms’ for the reproduction of subordinate identities and for challenges to such reproductive processes. I briefly review the background to reproduction theories and some of the educational work of the late Pierre Bourdieu, particularly his concepts of cultural arbitrary and symbolic capital, then concentrate on Connell’s theoretical framework for the analysis of gendered identity construction and of ‘the way things appear’. After a brief discussion of related western, development and capability literature, I explore how Indian literature justifies application of Connell’s social embodiment paradigm to explorations in provincial India. Before doing so, I summarise the foci of this literature, suggesting that even its availability and content reflect the operation of Indian and international gender orders and regimes.

### 3.1      Theorising inequality (class) reproduction theories

Capitalist liberal democracies from the late 1960s and 1970s were marked by the proliferation of social theories addressing inequality, much of which was founded on commitment to understanding and subverting the dynamics that reproduced it. Although this period was also marked by a significant increase in the volume, breadth and accessibility of feminist scholarship<sup>27</sup>, early reproduction theories were generally gender-blind: male experience was treated as the default and groups were homogenised and abstracted to ‘male’. In Britain, gender-blind educational theories grew out of the frustration of government reforms to eliminate poverty and class inequalities. The modernising reforms conceived during post-war socialist optimism, framed within equal

---

<sup>27</sup> Concurrent with the emergence of feminism as a political movement (often termed ‘second wave feminism’) (Thornham, 2001:29).

opportunity paradigms, had failed to yield the expected results. Gender-conscious scholarship of the time was also driven by the need to understand the frustration of liberal feminist optimism and campaigns for equal pay and representation in government (Neft and Levine, 1997:430)<sup>28</sup>.

Class was the dominant focus of early British educational research and theory exploring inequality (Douglas, Ross and Simpson, 1968). Reactions to the 'white, middle class nature' of early liberal feminism led to sharp critique of viewing 'women' as a homogenous group and the theorisation of the diversity of women's experiences. There was insistence that attention be paid to the many axes of exclusion, including those of class, race, ethnicity, religion, age, sexuality and physical ability and to exploration of how some women were excluded across many dimensions, while some benefited from the exclusion of others. Despite these feminist developments, and despite the fact that the impact of gender and ethnicity on students' 'ability to achieve their potential' was increasingly recognised (ILEA, 1983:5), many studies of this period remained focussed on single variables, with class receiving more theoretical and empirical attention than race or gender<sup>29</sup>.

Reproduction theorists argue that in stratified, hierarchical societies, power and advantage are monopolised by a minority: by those who have greater representation, and thus influence in decision making in government, business and the media. They suggest that group dominance is reproduced through processes whereby the knowledge and 'worldviews' (ideas, concepts, discourses, paradigms) that serve dominant interests become accepted as the way things *really* are, as absolutes, a-political: 'commonsense'. The efficacy of the process depends on its invisibility, as it would be undermined if its true nature were recognised, so it is essential that belief in the 'absolute' nature of knowledge be sustained. Whilst knowledge is perceived as absolute, excluded groups 'misrecognise' and thus ascribe to the reproduction of existing privilege and exclusion. Privilege is conceptualised as finite, so its retention depends on exclusion, achieved by limiting success criteria to those knowledges, traits or dispositions commonly associated with dominant groups. The commonsense knowledge associated with (privileged by)

---

<sup>28</sup> In some ways, Britain of the 1960s was learning the lessons that developing countries may have to face in years to come if they do not explore the reasons for the frustration of similar reforms in other contexts.

<sup>29</sup> See Liz Brooker's thesis and subsequent book for an overview of this research (Brooker, 2000; Brooker, 2002).

institutions of the state, capitalism and the media are thus aligned with dominant interests.

Pierre Bourdieu, a significant theorist in the reproduction debate, argued that definitions of knowledge and culture are central to the perpetuation of inequality. In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, a seminal text in the evolution of theories of reproduction, Bourdieu argues that:

Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:4).

These meanings are 'the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power'. Pedagogic work, the mechanism of their imposition, establishes their legitimacy and naturalness, while concealing their arbitrariness. The force of the cultural arbitrary is symbolic as there is no external repression or physical coercion (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:36). Once an individual has accepted the cultural arbitrary, she colludes in her own exclusion from certain possibilities. Education as *the* state arrangement mandated with the production and reproduction of knowledge (commonsense and otherwise) and therefore of identities, has a crucial role in this process. It imposes, with 'symbolic violence', the cultural arbitrary which embodies and disguises 'ruling'/dominant ideas.

Expanding early theorists' focus on the role of economic capital in social (including educational) success, Bourdieu demonstrated the importance of linguistic, social and cultural capitals. Linguistic capital refers to the range of linguistic resources to which an individual both has access and over which s/he enjoys mastery. Social capital refers to the social networks upon which individuals and groups can draw. Cultural capital embraces knowledges, skills, attitudes, goods and qualifications (Bourdieu, 1987:3-4). The cultural arbitrary of state institutions, especially schools, is closer to the symbolic capital of privileged groups. Although all four forms of capital often go together, people high in economic capital often have higher linguistic, social and cultural capital, but this need not be so. Unlike wealth, symbolic capital is not automatically transferred from parent to child: its development requires effort.

Postmodern critique of meta-narratives has questioned some of the fundamentals of reproduction theory, and the empirical reality of social change and reduction of 'class markers' have led theorists to revise early, heavily deterministic formulations, but these theories are still influential in the social sciences. I do not use Bourdieu's approach in its entirety, but value the framework, particularly the concepts of cultural arbitrary and symbolic capital.

## 3.2 Gender politics

A common critique of Bourdieu's work is the lack of theorised attention to gender (Lovell, 2000; McNay, 2000), although much of his framework can be directly transposed. Given the wealth of feminist scholarship, however, there is no compulsion to adopt/adapt an essentially gender-blind (to some, overly deterministic) reproduction framework. In the next section, I explore the framework of Robert Connell, which amalgamates decades of critical and feminist scholarship, insight and theory.

### 3.2.1 Robert Connell: social embodiment

Just as the main focus of Sen's work is the demonstration that full national democracy (of which gender democracy is a vital part) is in the national and global best interest, Connell's primary focus is the application of the same principle to gender democracy. Connell outlines the costs of acute gender inequality more explicitly than Sen, arguing that if gender inequalities persist, the power and position of hegemonic masculinity will remain entrenched, so global inequality will inevitably persist. He thus argues that the current gender order should be changed as it does more harm than good (Connell, 2002:143). Gender politics is thus everyone's concern, as national and global futures are complexly related to the redress of gendered inequalities.

[G]ender politics has to be understood as more than an interest-group struggle over inequalities. In the most general sense, gender politics is about the steering of the gender order in history. It represents the struggle to have the endless re-creation of gender relations through practice turn out a particular way. (Connell, 2002:144).

Although Sen does not state his position so directly, this is also the central premise of the capability approach. Within both frameworks, the advantages enjoyed by those

apparently privileged by current global, national and gender arrangements are not as great as they may appear: the maintenance of inequality and exclusion entails a high collective cost.

Post-structuralist approaches have emphasised how identities are socially constructed and thus open to change (Connell, 2002:71). Feminists' post-structuralist theorisation of the 'deconstruction of unified subjectivity into fragmented subject positions' (McNay, 1992:1), accounts of subjectivity as performance (Butler, 1990; Butler, 1993; Butler, 1997a; Butler, 1997b) and explorations of resistance and challenge to discursive formations (McNay, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1993; Deveau, 1994) all emphasise that where power exists, it can be contested and changed. This is the process of history, of social and liberal movements towards increasing democracy.

Reflecting these analyses of social change and identity formation, Connell extends the social constructionist paradigm to that of 'social embodiment'. Within this framework 'bodies' are both 'agents and objects' (Connell, 2002:47), constituted within, but also acting on, and thus able to transform, the social world (p51).

A structure of social relations, having come into existence in history, is open to change in history. A structure of inequality can, in principle, move in a democratic direction. (Connell, 2002:145).

Gender is thus constituted historically; it is never fixed, and can never be exactly reproduced (p52). If identity is constituted, the construction of gendered identities, being central to the reproduction or transformation of inequality, is a highly political practice. Connell argues that:

It is easy to recognise that a struggle over economic resources is 'political', less easy to think that the construction of personality is. (Connell, 2002:144).

Whilst the political nature of some aspects of identity construction, of propaganda campaigns, indoctrination, consciousness-raising, social movements and feminist activism is readily acknowledged, that of other social practices, of upbringing and of education (including liberal and religious forms) is less readily recognised. As regimes of the home, schools, universities, police, the military, the defence of hegemonic masculinity and the 'backlash' all represent aspects of power to shape personality: they are all equally political.

As post-structuralist approaches have focused less on the processes of emancipatory change, Connell's contribution is a more comprehensive theorisation of such change. Taking from Habermas' *Legitimation Crisis* (Habermas, 1976) he argues that structures develop crisis tendencies: 'internal contradictions or tendencies that undermine current patterns and force change in the structure itself' (Connell, 2002:71). Change in a large-scale structure like social relations depends on change at the individual level, which itself results from crisis tendencies in personal life (Connell, 2002:74). Such tendencies arise from 'commitments which are both urgent and contradictory' (Connell, 2002:74), and which build up until an individual can no longer live, interact or think as s/he had been doing. When such changes are experienced by individuals in isolation, they might 'produce nothing but eccentricity' (p74). But when many individuals experience similar crises, especially when they come together, sustainable change can occur.

Connell's analysis of the 'surplus resources made available to men' (p141) through gender inequality suggests why endeavours to create or facilitate such change are so powerfully resisted. He argues that the 'patriarchal dividend' (p142), the advantage accrued to men within male-privileging arrangements, is the 'main stake' in contemporary gender politics (p143). This dividend is the benefit to men as a group, not all men equally: some get less, some more, depending on their position in the economic and social order (Connell, 2002:142). It can be experienced in financial terms (globally, men's average incomes are 179 percent of women's) but also in relation to 'authority, respect, service, safety, housing, access to institutional power, and control over one's life' (Connell, 2002:142). Although women can benefit from the dividend, through marriages to wealthy men, even more so through exploitation of the labour of poor women, certain groups of men are excluded from parts of it. Gay men, in particular, have been excluded from the authority and respect attached to those who 'embody hegemonic forms of masculinity' (forms embodying competition, control and advantage) (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985). As *most* men, however, stand to gain from the gender 'status quo', the scale of the dividend makes its widespread defence so tenacious.

Wherever the patriarchal dividend exists, vested interest will resist any effort towards more egalitarian gender reform. This struggle, often projected as a backlash (Faludi, 1992), takes many forms. Some are obvious and high profile, but the most successful



ones conceal their true nature, presenting themselves as 'legitimate and natural' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:36):

cultural movements which reinforce the supremacy of men, argue that the gender hierarchy is biologically fixed, or claim that women's advancement is damaging to the family, to children, or to religion. (Connell, 2002:149).

Connell highlights contemporary political agendas from the 'de-funding of women's groups in Australia to restriction on abortion rights' in America (p149) concluding that 'the defence of hegemonic masculinity normally goes on as a collective project without a social movement' (Connell, 2002:145). This is a crucial insight for our understanding of gender reform.

### 3.2.1.1 Gender orders and gender regimes

To merge Connell's synthesis of feminist insight with that of reproduction theorists, notably Bourdieu and those who follow his approach, the gender regimes of institutions and the wider gender order of society are reflections of dominant interest, and thus the 'mechanism' through which the worldview of the dominant group becomes naturalised. Connell's analytic framework focuses on the 'regular set of arrangements', essentially relationships: 'ways that people, groups and organisations are connected and divided', which constitute societal gender orders and institutional gender regimes (Connell, 2002:54). All human institutions, from the family, the state, corporations and the media to global development agencies have their own gender regimes, their own 'patterns of relationships'. Although institutional gender regimes tend to correspond to the societal gender order, they do not always: this difference is a key 'space' for challenge and change.

A central component in the maintenance of the patriarchal gender order is belief in the essential, natural difference between men and women. Commonsense assumptions about gender difference are informed by *the way things appear*, which, although historical constructions based on advantage, are regularly not recognised as such. To use Bourdieu's framework, the propagation and maintenance of commonsense assumptions about essential gender difference is the mechanism by which the cultural arbitrary imposes its meanings 'by concealing the power relations which are its force' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:4). Connell elaborates on considerable feminist critique (Mitchell,

1971; Pateman, 1988; Walby, 1990) in distinguishing four structures in the modern gender system: those of power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolic relations. Gendered processes within each of these areas can be viewed as the 'mechanisms' that either facilitate or challenge the reproduction of male advantage. The material and symbolic representation of women in all four arenas both represents reality *and* determines how that reality is perceived: as this representation changes, the 'constitution' of 'the commonsense' is challenged. The greater the gender dichotomy in each area, the more gender difference, and thus the patriarchal gender order, will be assumed natural (Dillabough, 1999:393).

### Power relations

The analysis of power relations is central to feminist agendas: a dimension in its own right, it is also the substructure of the others. Feminists from the 1970s demonstrated how power was realised through the institutions of the state, though legal systems (MacKinnon, 1983), in bureaucracies (Burton, 1987), and against homosexual men (Altman, 1972). It was argued that the state had a well-marked internal gender regime and 'did' gender through generating policies on gender issues. The 'masculinisation of the state' was theorised as a relationship between state institutions and hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 1993), both of which are symbiotically related, as 'state power is a resource for the struggle for hegemony in gender, and hegemonic masculinity is a resource in the struggle for state power' (Connell, 2002:105). The ultimate institution of state power, the military, exemplifies, condones and recreates the dominance of hegemonic masculinity.

Post-structuralism has demonstrated how discourses are mechanisms for the reproduction of power structures. Foucault theorised power as diffuse, not operating in support of any particular ideology but discursively, through the ways in which we think, talk and conceptualise (Foucault, 1980), thus intimately present in the discourses of everyday life. Despite Foucault's deep engagement with homosexuality and the normalising discourses of heterosexuality (Foucault, 1977), his work is renowned for its lack of attention to feminist concerns. Many feminists (cited above) have rejected the exclusive focus on the structuring power of discursive formations, called for and demonstrated a greater understanding of individual agency (McNay, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1993; Deveaux, 1994; McNay, 2000).

## Production relations

The second dimension is that of production relations. Early feminists theorised the 'sexual division of labour' (Mitchell, 1971), demonstrating how public and private realms were conceptualised as *essentially* male and female, and how tasks associated with women became feminised, whilst those associated with men, masculinised. Mies theorised a 'gendered accumulation process', wherein women are increasingly pressed into the 'housewife' pattern of isolation and dependence on male breadwinners (Mies, 1986).

The gendered nature of corporations, the key institution of developed capitalism, is widely reported in feminist research, demonstrating how gendered hierarchies were both traditional and 'deliberately introduced and actively defended' (Connell, 2002:99). Resulting institutional cultures are grounded in hegemonic masculinity, privileging toughness and competition (Connell, 2002:102). Power and production relations come together most powerfully in political neo-liberalism, the dominant political configuration of the last two decades (Rai, 2002), which 'in exalting the power of markets, has tended to restore the power and privilege of men' (Connell, 2002:150). Neo-liberal agendas, regularly imposed on developing countries by the IMF, involve a 'rolling back' of the state through market deregulation, privatisation and reduction in public expenditure. The weakening of welfare states has been detrimental to women and their strategic gender interests (Kabeer, 1994).

## Emotional relations

The third key gender structure is that of emotional relations. In patriarchal gender orders, emotional relations that lend support to the 'patriarchal dividend' are fostered and encouraged, whilst those that would undermine it are discouraged. Heterosexuality is constructed as the ideal and standards of sexual conduct are gendered. Women are encouraged to perceive their identity and interests as secondary to domestic and/or supportive roles. Professions associated with generating different emotional responses become 'masculinised/feminised' (Prigle, 1989). Nationalism regularly uses gender imagery in its construction of national solidarities (Nagel, 1998; Slapsak, 2000). A significant dimension, not emphasised by Connell, is that of spiritual relations, especially religious ones. In communities marked by considerable religious observation, the reservation of authority by men is generally given religious sanction. This sanction

supports male-privileging arrangements and the patriarchal dividend, and its contravention brings spiritual dilemmas and guilt.

### Symbolic relations

The final structure is that of symbolic relations, bringing us back to the beginning, to the 'meanings' within the concepts of woman and man. Concepts are symbols, mental constructs that both represent reality *and* determine how that reality is perceived. In this way:

Whenever we speak of 'a woman', or a 'man', we call into play a tremendous system of understandings, implications, overtones and allusions that have accumulated through our cultural history. (Connell, 2002:65).

Gender symbolism operates on many levels, through discourses, dress, make-up, gesture, photography, film and many aspects of the built environment (Wilson, 1987). The media and mass communication are central mechanisms in the protection of the patriarchal dividend. Funded through the mechanisms of advanced capitalism, simultaneously exploited and regulated (or otherwise) by the state, the twenty-first century media remains deeply gendered.

#### 3.2.1.2 Evidence of change

Historically, the exclusion of women from substantive participation in economic, political and public-sphere social activity has both 'represented reality and determined how that reality has been perceived'. Severe gender imbalances in power and production relations have contributed to the prevalence and acceptance of emotional relations and symbolic representations that sustain belief in essential gender difference, and thus the patriarchal dividend.

Change is slow and complex, but its momentum has been increasing as more women aspire to, fight for and attain greater participation. Connell identifies crisis tendencies in each of the four structures, although his analysis is more informed by realities in developed countries and among the global 'cosmopolitan elite' than by those in developing countries and among poorer rural communities. He states that 'power relations show the most spectacular recent change' (Connell, 2002:71). The unceasing

practical and intellectual activism of the women's movement in many different contexts has prepared the ground for the acute focus on gender equality within global development orthodoxy, now itself a powerful force for change.

Connell demonstrates increasing change in production relations, marked by a worldwide incorporation of women's labour into the market economy. He is more circumspect about changes in emotional relations, suggesting that, in industrialised countries, 'homosexual sexuality has to a certain extent achieved legitimacy as an alternative within the heterosexual order' (p73). In symbolic relations, a powerful tool of the cultural arbitrary, he is more circumspect still, suggesting that there is a 'tendency towards crisis' in the 'legitimation of patriarchy'.

A vast change in presuppositions has occurred in the cultural life of industrial (and many industrialising) countries. A hundred years ago those who claimed equality for women, or rights for homosexuals, had to justify the claim against presuppositions to the contrary. Now those who deny equality or rights have to justify their denial against a presumption for equality and a presumption that change can occur. (Connell, 2002:74).

Whilst there is still widespread adherence to ideas of essential gender difference, the power of these ideas to form 'unquestioned commonsense' has weakened.

### Section reflections

This section has presented Connell's social embodiment paradigm; the historical process and scholarship contributing to its development, and its application to explorations of the 'constitution of the commonsense' and gendered identity construction. Many of the observations about change, however, apply more readily and in more substantive, transformative ways to gender structures in developed rather than developing countries. In many developing countries, where gender orders are powerfully patriarchal and democracy *per se* may be non-existent, young or weak, relations across the four gender structures remain intensely hierarchical, with the gender binary often reinforced by religious sanction.

### 3.3 Western and development literature: schooling regimes

Vast bodies of literature engage with these themes in western contexts, exploring the gendered regimes of national education, schooling and professional systems. Before

proceeding to analyse gender regimes and the ‘constitution of the commonsense’ as they are represented in Indian literature, I briefly review western and capability literature that does not have a specifically Indian focus.

Considerable western research has illustrated that schooling, even when completed, is not always empowering, and, even if it is, that it does not always lead to heightened public-sphere participation, much less leadership or equality (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Connell, 1987; Apple, 1995; Bernstein, 1996; Skeggs, 1997a; Skeggs, 1997b; Reay, 1998; Brooker, 2000; Apple, 2001; Nussbaum, 2001; Walker, 2001; Brooker, 2002). Arnot et al document the gender gap in post-war British education (Arnot, David and Weiner, 1999). Weiler, Dillabough and Coffey and Delamont explore feminism and teachers (Weiler, 1988; Dillabough, 1999; Coffey and Delamont, 2000). Ellsworth, Bell et al and Davies address curriculum and pedagogy (Ellsworth, 1989; Bell, Morrow and Tastsoglou, 1999; Davies, 2003). In addition to numerous studies emphasising institutionalised gender inequalities, others have stressed the centrality of gender constructs, of concepts of femininity and masculinity, in the reproduction of gendered inequality. Countless studies highlight how girls and women’s gendered self-perceptions and aspirations, the types of identity they feel it appropriate, and thus legitimate, to desire and pursue, impact on women’s public-sphere economic and political participation (Sweetman, 1998; Weiler, 1991; Arnot, David and Weiner, 1999; Arnot and Dillabough, 2000; Walker, 2002).

Martha Nussbaum explores the reproduction of subordinate gender identities in developing country contexts in *Women Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, applying the term ‘adaptive preference’ to the processes wherein gendered power relations lead women to value ‘beings and doings’ which undermine their empowerment and participatory freedoms (Nussbaum, 2000b:135). Naila Kabeer argues that, in environments where most participatory and instrumental freedoms (political, economic and social) are weak for women, and where social status depends on conforming to male-privileging gender arrangements, female ‘values and behaviour are likely to reflect those of the wider community and reproduce its injustices’ (Kabeer, 1999b:457). In such contexts, girls and women’s rejection of empowered identities and interactions is often ‘the most rational of choices’ (Kabeer, 1999b:457).

In a review of the literature on gender education and development, Unterhalter illustrates how, historically, much research into gender and schooling in developing countries has been quantitative, large-scale or focussed on school provision and management rather than processes or qualitative outcomes (Unterhalter, 2003b). This trend is changing, however, and the volume of developing country publications relating specifically to education is rapidly expanding. NGO and academic explorations have problematised the equation of enrolment with empowerment, starting in 1999 with *Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment* (Heward and Bunwaree, 1999). *Practising Gender Analysis in Education* (Leach, 2003) and *A Fair Chance: Attaining Gender Equality in Basic Education by 2005* (Global Campaign for Education, 2003) explore the practicalities of implementing global gender agendas. Jayaweera outlines an approach to the measurement of empowerment returns to education in Sri Lanka, based on the UNDP's GEM data (Jayaweera, 1999). In a critical exploration of the EFA movement, Unterhalter and Brighouse explore positional, instrumental and intrinsic returns to schooling (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2003). Unterhalter et al propose a 'scorecard' and use it to measure gender equality and girls' education in Asia between 1990 and 2000 (Unterhalter, Rajagopalan and Challender, 2005).

FAWE, the Forum of African Women Educationalists, is a rich source for investigations of the impact of explicitly gender-sensitised curricula on pupils' gender identities and relations (FAWE, 1999; FAWE, 2001a; FAWE, 2002). (I have been unable to identify any such gender-sensitised approaches within Indian government schooling). Participants at the Nairobi *Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access* international seminar explore how physical and human environments, curriculum, syllabi, materials, pedagogy and interactions must be predicated on the legitimacy and criticality of greater democracy, equality and gender equality (Chege, 2004; Mlama, 2004; Moletsane, 2004; Muito, 2004).

On a practical level, UNESCO and UNICEF have developed numerous teacher-training packages attending to gender and equality (Haggis, 1995; UNESCO, 1997; UNESCO, 2000; UNICEF, 2002; Ministry of Education Eritrea and UNICEF, 2003; UNESCO, 2003c; UNESCO, 2004)<sup>30</sup>. UNESCO also supported similar Indian publications by Usha Nayar over a decade ago (Nayar, 1995; Nayar, 1996; Nayar, 1997c;

---

<sup>30</sup> A substantial package has also been designed, recently, for teacher-education in Canada (Beaudoin, 1998a; Beaudoin, 1998b; Benyon et al., 1998a; Benyon et al., 1998b).

Nayar, 1997b), yet these publications had no profile in the Indian and education debates in which I was involved between 1998 and 2005.

Literature addressing capabilities and education has been increasing since the publication of *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 2000) and the first annual international capability conference in 2000. Unterhalter explores how schooling can be deemed capability-depriving for many South African schoolgirls exposed to rape (and thus HIV) by teachers and peers (Unterhalter, 2003). Saito analyses the role of education in the expansion of capabilities, arguing that Sen's approach helps frame debates on the intrinsic and instrumental values of schooling (Saito, 2003). Nussbaum illustrates how education promotes 'central human capabilities', arguing that developing and developed nations must prioritise the enhancement of female education (Nussbaum, 2004). Walker writes extensively about the contribution of the approach to debates on education and social justice, principally in British and South African contexts (Walker, 2002; Walker, 2003; Walker, 2005a; Walker, 2005b; Walker, Forthcoming).

### Section reflections

The combined literature provides many insights to guide explorations of the transformation of gender identities. In summary, these are that: (i) identities are constructed: we are constituted within, but can act upon and transform, the social world; (ii) they are formed within commonsense assumptions about the nature of knowledge and of the differences between people, informed by representations of binaries in power, production, emotional and symbolic relations; (iii) whilst the power of 'the way things appear' is considerable, it is unsettled by changes in the four structures and informed critical thinking; (iv) schooling, especially when it is girls' only non-domestic social space, can play a powerful role in identity construction; (v) challenge to gender binaries requires opportunities for women's substantive participation, legal enforcement of rights and on girls having access to enabling education; (vi) gender reforms must be holistic and strategise for equality across the four gender structures; (vii) schools' cultural arbitrary and regimes will tend to reflect/reproduce the interest of the powerful' (viii) education should build awareness of how knowledge is socially constructed; (ix) the curriculum should be founded on equality; and (x) educational environments and interactions should be governed by democratic norms and procedures.



### 3.4 Indian literature: gender regimes

This section explores the representation of gender regimes in society and schooling in Indian literature. I start with a brief review of the nature of literature addressing gender, suggesting that the availability of this literature is, even more than that of non-gendered literature within the same 'development discourse' (the second one - see the table in Appendix 2) the result of the intersection of national and global patriarchal regimes.

#### 3.4.1 The nature of the literature

In 1999, the search for theorised Indian feminist critiques of the processes, relationships and outcomes associated with government elementary schooling proved challenging. Whilst positive correlations between processes, quality and outcomes were acknowledged in DPEP and SSA project documents, this awareness was only beginning to be reflected in programmatic interventions, much less so in the literature. At the outset of the study, most available educational scholarship focussed on provision and access within a framework of progress towards quantitative targets<sup>31</sup>. It appeared that the most urgent research priority was how to get an 'adequate' system running for all, on the assumption that if it were adequate for all, it would be adequate for girls.

The emphases of the literature reflect the outcomes of two interrelated processes. The first is that of competition for funding, access, influence and respect, all of which are symbiotically related. The 'cultural arbitrary' of each constituency generating educational knowledge has been, and in most cases remains, male-privileging. Feminist academics wishing to expose and critique the functioning of a patriarchal cultural arbitrary, especially if their gaze embraces neo-imperial, classed or religious dimensions, face the most opposition. The second is the history of women's struggles for inclusion and capability enhancement within India's classed, patriarchal gender order (Kumar, 1993b; Manjrekar, 2003). Those first to achieve greater participation were the first to address feminist concerns, initially doing so in the fields where they had access/opportunities to develop their practice (Bourdieu, 1990:86). Consequently, just as Dalit women's concerns have not been substantively addressed by Dalit or women's movements (Pappu, 2001; Thorat, 2001) the concerns of poor girls and/or gender

---

<sup>31</sup> Including provision, statistical infrastructure, management, decentralisation, economics, efficiency, effectiveness and bureaucratic capacity building.

within government elementary education are only just beginning to be addressed by the elementary education constituency and feminists.

The literature environment had changed considerably by 2004<sup>32</sup>: the 2000 framing and global endorsement of the second and third MDGs have lent support to the struggle of many Indian feminists. Even while the regimes of many development agencies, and the conduct of their representatives might remain patriarchal (Kabeer, 1994; Goetz, 1997; Connell, 2002:132,149), the frameworks for greater gender equity are being established, and the mechanisms put in place for progress against these frameworks to be measured.

### 3.4.2 The construction of gender identities

One of the strongest themes of the gender literature is that of diversity: although most women *may* share a 'core' experience of discrimination or exclusion, their experiences depend on intersections of class, caste, religious, ethnicity and location factors (in terms of where they live, in which region and state, whether urban or rural, *and* the specificities of particular neighbourhoods or habitations). Within these macro categories, age, sibling composition, household organisation (joint, extended or nuclear) and status within domestic hierarchies, education, physical ability and sexual orientation are also important determinants of experience. There is however, one 'marker' of difference that dominates the style, focus and genesis of much of the literature: that of socio-economic position, or class.

Although socio-economic position/class is the strongest marker of difference in the literature, class composition is complexly related to caste, ethnicity, religion and even location. Not surprisingly, experience of caste, ethnicity and religion is highly gendered, and whilst the caste 'burden' of many non-poor, lower caste urban women and girls has lessened (although it can still be highly exclusionary, Joint Action Committee, 2000), that of their rural counterparts remains heavy (Annamalai, 2002). For the poorest, there is a further hierarchy within this urban/rural divide: whilst men have greater opportunity to escape traditional work, women of the same families often have to persist with degrading occupations, to carry families through long periods of male resistance (to such work), unemployment and/or transition (Dube, 1996).

---

<sup>32</sup> Although it remained dominated by logistical and quantitative concerns.

#### 3.4.2.1 Power relations

The literature demonstrates that clear, material manifestations of gendered power relations are still entrenched in many environments, especially in rural areas, where the control of girls and women by their natal families, husbands and in-laws, is common and often assumed part of the 'natural order'. Much activist literature reports on this very physical dimension of power and its abuses: sati<sup>33</sup>; child marriages; domestic violence, dowry deaths and suicides; the victimisation of wives who do not produce sons; atrocities against those who resist arranged marriages; stigmatisation of widows and prohibition of their remarriage and sexual abuse and rape (Kumar, 1993b).

Kumar's thematic overview documents many such battles, but emphasises the solidarity and victories that women have found in coming together (Kumar, 1993b). Pande's story of Katori Devi illustrates what one woman can do, even alone, in the face of extreme injustice (Pande, 1996:175-176). This case underscores a constant theme of the literature: the vast difference 'between *de jure* and *de facto* right: between the ever-broadening notion of women's rights ... and the limited realisation of such rights in local practices' (Agarwal, 2000:37; Government of India, 2002c:241,249,253); it highlights the power of religion within the judicial system, and its inadequacy, ineffectiveness and bias, which undermines confidence and keeps victimised girls, women and families silent (Bumiller, 1991; Chowdry, 1998:334-337; Chikarmane, 1999; Mukhopadhyay, 1999; Puri, 1999:75-101; Subrahmanian, 2002:224; Pande, 2003).

There are compelling, theorised gender critiques of the highest level of global and national development policies, underlining how priorities and policies are not only gender-blind, but also non-democratic, how they undermine the just development of capabilities and thwart balanced, sustainable development (Sen and Grown, 1988; Shiva, 1989:1-13; Kabeer, 1994; Nussbaum, 2000b; Drèze and Sen, 2002:271-274; Rai, 2002:11-43). Recurrent themes include class and caste-based gender imbalances, both numerically and hierarchically, at all levels of education, employment (Agarwal, 2000:40-44; Seminar, 2001b) and politics (Rai, 1997; Kumari and Kidwai, 1998), and discrimination, harassment and exclusions faced by working women (Nayar, 1997b; Gupta, 1999; Agarwal, 2000; Joint Action Committee, 2000). Sen explores the gendered difficulty of accessing accurate information (Sen, 1999). Tharu, Puri and Chhachhi

---

<sup>33</sup> The supposed voluntary immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre.

explore how citizenship is conceptualised as male, whilst women are portrayed in domestic and relational terms, rendering struggles for substantive participation invisible and largely unattended (Chhachhi, 1994; Tharu, 1998; Puri, 1999).

A growing body of literature illustrates 'best-practice' in relation to state encouragement of women's empowerment NGOs and the organisation of community-level initiatives to raise awareness and support girls and women in their quest for education and greater participation. Notable among the many such Indian examples are Mahila Samakhya (Unterhalter, 1999), Lok Jumbish (Rajagopal, 1999; Chowdhury, 2000) and BGVS (Srivastava, 2004), prior to the withdrawal of state support.

A theme that appears silenced is the sexual harassment and abuse of children. I was alerted to the possible extent of such abuse through the two explorations of alternative, lesbian and gay sexuality (Seabrook, 1999; Sukthankar, 1999), and literature addressing the lives and exploitations of poor Dalit and Adivasi women and prostitutes by upper caste, middle and upper class men (Bardhan, 1990; Geetha, 1998:319; Jogan, 1999; Franco, Macwan and Ramanathan, 2000; Khandekar, 2001). There is considerable attention to these issues on the Internet, with a strident critique of the failure of parents, school and counsellors to acknowledge and address these issues.

#### 3.4.2.2 Production relations

A growing body of literature stresses the need to address economic with political and social (particularly educational) dimensions of empowerment (Athreya and Chunkath, 1996; Purushothaman, 1998; Ramachandran, 1998; Agarwal, 2000:55; Ramachandran, 2000). A recurrent theme is the 'feminisation' of poverty, exploring how the burden of World Bank/IMF structural adjustment policies is, in the absence of social safety-nets, disproportionately borne by women and girls, with negative impacts on health, well-being and autonomy (Kabeer, 1994; Razavi, 1999; Drèze and Sen, 2002:229; Elson, 2002). Much of the literature focuses directly on the subordinate domestic status of poor girls and women (Singh, 1997; Franco, Macwan, and Ramanathan, 2000; Nussbaum, 2000b). Grounded in the argument that any analyses of female choice must focus simultaneously on resources, agency and achievements, Kabeer critiques the proxies and approach of many studies exploring 'empowerment' or agency, and

demonstrates the positive, although not inevitable, correlation between increased public-sphere employment and domestic sphere autonomy (Kabeer, 1999b).

The considerable literature on the powerful role of the family and kinship networks in determining life-style options stresses how expectations of a woman's secondary, if existent, economic position vis-à-vis her husband impacts directly on girls' upbringing and sense of self-worth. Literature stresses that, across class divisions (although this must be changing amongst the urban elite) girls' upbringing is a preparation for self-abnegation and subordination to others; first within the natal family, then the marital one (Bhogle, 1999:208; Dhruvarajan, 1999:35; Palriwala, 1999:49; Saraswati, 1999:214-215). One of the most tragic indications of the childhood consequences of the perception of negligible economic returns to investment in daughters' well being, especially in educational terms, is the often-quoted proverb:

Bringing up a daughter is like watering a plant in someone else's courtyard.  
(Dube, 1988:168).

The reticence of poor families to 'invest' in their daughters' earning potential is echoed through the literature, as is the limiting of affluent family aspiration for their daughters to professions deemed appropriate for women (Derné, 1994; Seymour, 1994a; Seymour, 1994b; Vatuk, 1994; Ganesh and Risseuw, 1998).

#### 3.4.2.3 Emotional relations

The structure of emotional relationships is the most personal of all four: it is that of belief, spirituality, conscience, and may be the most significant for identity construction: of who we think we are and what we think is acceptable. It is within this domain that claims for religious, communal, caste or other identity affiliations are pitched, negotiated and contested.

A constant theme is women's ascription to male-privileging beliefs, values, attitudes and practices that undermine progress towards gender equality. Nussbaum's gendered theorising of 'adaptive preference' draws on a long and complex history of philosophical and applied debates on choice, but the central thesis is clear: women constrained within highly unequal gender orders, with few 'non-conformist' options to enhance their well-being and status, will adapt their 'preferences' to best negotiate their environments

(Nussbaum, 2000b:140). This does not mean that, with greater opportunities, they would choose to live this way, but that they are routinely denied capability-enhancing experiences that would enable reasoned choice (Nussbaum, 2000b:153, 236-238). Kabeer also argues that 'when [status] considerations set up a trade-off for women between their ability to make independent choices in critical arenas of their lives ... and their ability to enjoy status within the family and community, status becomes antithetical to autonomy' (Kabeer, 1999b:458). Palriwala elaborates on these ideas to illustrate the mechanisms that operate to make women primary agents of the reproduction of gendered inequality (Palriwala, 1999:75).

The power of culture in identity formation is continually underlined; emphasising how Indian cultures are influenced by religion (specifically by patriarchal projections of it) and resulting gender regimes (Neft and Levine, 1997:296; Bhogle, 1999:279; Dhruvarajan, 1999:35; Palriwala, 1999:53). This literature also bears testimony to the ways in which education, female solidarity, urbanisation and globalisation *do* increase (although slowly and in uneven, unanticipated ways) the possibility of recognising and resisting patriarchal regimes.

A considerable literature explores the experiences of upper caste and/or upper or middle class women. Liddle and Joshi argue that the social hierarchies and gender regimes of regions, states, social groups, religions and even Hindu sects that escaped Aryan dominance were less informed by Aryan 'Brahmanic' Hinduism (with its stress on ritual purity and division), and less patriarchal (Liddle and Joshi, 1986:61-66; Dabbe, 1999:50-51). This contributes to differences in social hierarchies and the greater gender equality in southern regions and states, where there was considerable Dravidian resistance to Aryan invaders, and amongst indigenous Adivasi groups whose lifestyles resisted incorporation into the mainstream (Liddle and Joshi, 1986:67; Dabbe, 1999:51-52; Drèze and Sen, 2002:163).

Literature suggests that Brahmin women have to navigate the most patriarchal gender regimes (Gokhale, 1998). Uma Chakravaty posited a theory of Brahmanic Patriarchy, exploring social relations during its founding in the first millennium BC and its reconstruction, within the 'construction of Hinduism' of nineteenth century colonialism

(Chakravaty, 1993; Chakravarty, 1998b; Omvedt, 2000)<sup>34</sup>. Early in his work, Srinivas developed the concept of Sanskritisation to describe processes wherein the beliefs and practices of lower caste groups adapt to those of higher caste groups, facilitating the extension of Brahmanic gender regimes (Srinivas, 1962). He also, however, theorised that the process of 'Westernisation' of upper caste, upper class beliefs and practices brought the possibilities of greater female autonomy (Liddle and Joshi, 1986:6). Emphasis on western influence changed in later work, but his central theses remained (Srinivas, 1996b; Srinivas, 1996a).

The repeated theme of the control of female sexuality is often explored in conjunction with the centrality of marriage and family allegiances. Jati-based arranged marriages, often finalised in rural areas without consulting either partner, are repeatedly analysed as mechanisms for the reproduction of social hierarchies, which are dependent on the control of female sexuality (Liddle and Joshi, 1986; Chowdry, 1998; Saraswati, 1999:214-215; Pande, 2003). Palriwala argues that marriage has asymmetrically gendered 'material, social and symbolic meanings and consequences' (Palriwala, 1999:52-53).

Literature exploring gendered educational inequality analyses how three features of Hindu marriage arrangements in the least developed states and rural areas combine to undermine families' investment in their daughters' education. In traditional Hindu marriage arrangements, inheritance tends, despite the 1956 Hindu Succession Act which sought to reduce gender inequalities (Agarwal, 2000:37) to be patrilineal: property passes down the male line, from fathers to sons (Drèze and Sen, 2002:161). According to the tradition of patrilocal exogamy, girls leave their natal villages (virtually severing all family ties) to join marital extended households in their village (Dube, 1988; Kishor, 1993; Drèze and Sen, 2002:162). The third feature is the effect of dowry practices combined with the ideology of 'hypergamous' marriage: the idea that a woman must marry 'up' in the social hierarchy. According to this tradition, a groom must be more educated than his bride (PROBE Team, 1999:23; Drèze and Sen, 2002:162).

Finally, there is a growing strand of literature exploring resistance and its fragility. Puri, supported by John, demonstrates how the contemporary Indian nation-state 'articulates and reinforces hegemonic and normalising scripts of gender and sexuality' (John,

---

<sup>34</sup> This is the foundation of the BJP's contemporary approach to gender.

1998:388; Puri, 1999:25), whilst Sukthankar and Seabrook demonstrate the consequences of this elision of 'Indian-ness' and heterosexuality for women and men who do not fit the model (Seabrook, 1999; Sukthankar, 1999). These works are suggestive of the extent of 'transgressive sexualities', but also how such transgression is silenced and denied by mainstream discourses.

#### 3.4.2.4 Symbolic relations

The remaining structure is that of gender differences in symbolic relations. Two of the most repeated themes are associated with dress/appearance, and those of imagery in the contemporary media and religious serials, both of which are popular and, even in rural areas, highly pervasive. The literature bears testimony to highly gendered values on presentation and dress (Gokhale, 1998; Puri, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000b:153, 236-238). Sukthankar's compilation documents occasions of acute (urban) resistance to these dress codes, and Singh's elaborates on older middle class women's criticism of resistance and self-expression (Singh, 1997; Sukthankar, 1999).

The irony embedded in the difference between the apparently strict sexual codes of contemporary India and the suggestive imagery of Bollywood (Roy, 1998; Vasudevan, 1998), or with the explicit carvings around the temples of Khajuraho (Roy, 1998) is often cited as an example of the hypocrisy and self-serving flexibility of patriarchal gender regimes (Puri, 1999).

There is increasing gender reflection on the 'glorification' of India's united, *Hindu* past, especially as contained within extreme right-wing BJP priorities and agendas (Rampal, 1994a; Seminar, 2003). In her exploration of globalisation and Indian sexuality John explores the process through which 'a pure, desexualised "Indian womanhood" has come to be emblematic of the nation and its culture' (John, 1998:373), concluding that 'forces from the Hindu Right are endeavouring to reaffirm the purity of Indian culture by cleansing it of all 'alien' sexualities (p390). This analysis is echoed in Chakravarty's critique of state response to two decades of 'crisis' in its legitimacy of the state, founded on a 're-constructing' of the nations' 'glorious past', leading to a:

A rightwards shift of politics, the rise of a fascist Hinduvata brigade and a strengthened upper caste middle class allegiance to Hindu majoritarian ideological and political formations. (Chakravarty, 1998a:243-244).



Within this process movement, the state is making concerted use of television, especially through epic serialisations of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Chanakya*, to project excluding, patriarchal images of nationhood, citizenship, masculinity and femininity, consonant with the conservative and communalist tendencies of the extreme right of the BJP (Chakravarty, 1998a).

### Section reflections

This review highlights the highly classed, patriarchal gender order and regimes of cosmopolitan and provincial India. These regimes, through their re-presentation of gender binaries in power, production, emotional and symbolic relations help to perpetuate belief in the essential difference and thus the legitimacy of very differently gendered life aspirations. Any educational reform aiming to transform gendered identities will need to incorporate awareness of these dynamics into policy, strategy and programme implementation.

## 3.5 Indian literature: gendered schooling regimes

Although the mainstreamed focus on gender and the concerns of poor girls within government elementary education is a recent development, some feminists have been researching and documenting these issues for decades, often without funding and with fewer opportunities for dissemination. Their backgrounds and experience, however, is now proving to be invaluable to wider national and global debates. The following section reviews some of this literature.

### 3.5.1 Provision and enrolment: quality, equity and equality?

Gender analysts are able to draw on a rich source of critique from Usha Nayar, summarised succinctly in three publications (Nayar, 1997a; Nayar, 2000a; Nayar, 2000b). Her work has constantly drawn attention to classed, caste- and location-based gender imbalances in enrolment, persistence, exam achievement and broader 'outcome/lifestyle' returns to education, and documented the persistent gaps between policy and outcomes and the lack of political will for genuine, crosscutting change.

The strong theme of the gap between policy, implementation and outcomes is central to Ramachandran's seminal *Bridging the Gap*, documenting twentieth century policy

priorities and outlining a vast array of piece-meal gender interventions. Recurring recommendations cover five broad areas (access, management, curriculum, teachers and awareness raising) all primarily concerned with inspiring enrolment and completion: not with what happens in school, or after it. Ramachandran argues that recommendations have changed little since *Strategies to Encourage Girls' Education* in the 1974 *Report of the Committee of the Status of Women* (Ramachandran, 1998:78), highlights persistent lack of institutional flexibility and political will and makes a strong case for a holistic, cross-sectoral approach to both gender inequalities and strategies to redress them (Ramachandran, 1998:70-156; Ramachandran, 2000:34). All Ramachandran's publications, from the 1998 *Bridging the Gap*, through all subsequent publications, most significantly *Hierarchies of Access* (Ramachandran, 2004a) and *Getting Children Back to School* (Ramachandran, 2003), until *Snakes and Ladders* (Ramachandran, 2004b) help to build a contextualised understanding, continually emphasising the reality of change, the possibilities of greater change, and offering practical strategies to achieve it.

### 3.5.2 Institutional and professional regimes

The patriarchal gender regimes of institutions and planning processes, from the highest level of state administration, to realities of landless women labourers are emphasised in all the contributions to *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes* (Kabeer and Subrahmanian, 1999), although only one chapter addresses elementary education, and it focuses on an NGO initiative and does not explore school processes. The first chapter *From Feminist Insights to an Analytical Framework* provides a useful problematisation of culture, extending the debate on gender and disadvantage in India from a focus on family structure and kinship to the institutional sphere. Reflecting the social embodiment paradigm, Kabeer maintains that:

[I]nstitutions are constantly reconstituted through the practice of different actors, all of whom bring a range of identities and interests to bear on their practice. (Kabeer, 1999a:30).

She stresses that the important thing is to change the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu, 1990:86) and ends with the affirmation:

There is no clear path to social transformation. ... What holds out more promise ... than any single intervention is the variety ... and the difficulties of containing

within manageable boundaries the myriad changes they unleash. (Kabeer, 1999a:46)

These themes are echoed in Subrahmanian's exploration of state administration and village-level school bodies in Karnataka (Subrahmanian, 1997; Subrahmanian, 1999). A DFID-commissioned study into DPEP suggests that, despite a strong commitment to girls' education in programme guidelines, it 'does not exhibit a fully mainstreamed approach', and recommends that policy commitments 'be specified as an objective to be monitored' (Smawfield and Poulsen, 2000:37), a theme repeated in the Tenth FYP (Government of India, 2002c:254).

There is virtually no gender critique of teacher's attitudes or professional identities, and no deconstruction of how professionalism is gendered. Returning to the *Teachers as Transformers* study, although many teachers comment on their concern with and efforts to increase the enrolment of girls, issues of gender are not dealt with in any depth. One teacher relates that she 'decided to become a teacher and to do something for the cause of the education of women'; that her subsequent practice was informed by her desire to get girls achieving; and that this commitment brought results, but neither her practice nor the results are explored deeply (Sherry Chand and Shukla, 1998:119). Her account ends, on the last page, with an example of gender-bias: that demonstrated by male teachers towards their female colleagues. This incident is neither addressed nor problematised, but its inclusion emphasises the gendered nature of school environments for women teachers, as well as for pupils.

### 3.5.3 Epistemology, curriculum and classroom processes

In her seminal exploration of the (lack of) feminist attention to the epistemology of formal schooling, Manjrekar argues that this is indicative of the 'low status educational studies hold in the hierarchy of knowledge, even feminist knowledge, in India' (Manjrekar, 2003:4577). She suggests that the result of this gap has been that:

In India, we do not seem to share a discourse within which to discuss how educational visions have been highly gendered, both within nationalism as well as in the post-independence era; or to examine girls' education in relation to issues of their labour and sexuality (Manjrekar, 2003:4577).

Her work, however, joins with many other recent publications to suggest that this is now changing. In this article, she outlines the challenge posed by the ‘appropriation of curriculum discourse by the Hindu Right’ in the NCF2000, which presents ‘women as recipients of a benevolent ... not empowering culture’, glorifies them as mothers, and stresses the importance of girls’ education for social cohesion, reversing the transformation/empowerment rhetoric of earlier policies (Manjrekar, 2003:4578-9). She highlights the potential of the ‘deeply disempowering’ vision of NCF2000, through textbooks, to inform how ‘millions of children will understand their social worlds and identities’ (Manjrekar, 2003). Nambissan, in an overview of classroom gender research, confirms entrenched gender bias:

available research suggests that schools ... reinforce narrowly constructed identities, and stereotypical gender roles, thereby constraining their choices and options. (Nambissan, 2004).

She reiterates the threat to girls’ education and women’s empowerment posed by the reversals of NCF2000:

we are witnessing the spread of a communal agenda in education, with its glorification of tradition and women’s duty in relation to the stability of the family and ‘cohesion of society’. (Nambissan, 2004).

Bhog argues that NCF2000 compromises the government’s commitment to the provision of gender-just education, through its emphasis on women’s ‘play[ing] out their “traditional” social roles as good mothers, wives and daughters within the family and the nation’ (Bhog, 2002). She argues ‘that the emphasis on Indian tradition and the collapsing of value education with religious education puts on hold the possibility of education emerging as an enabling tool for women’s empowerment’. Her detailed deconstruction of the presentation of women and girls in school textbooks, both prior to and post the NCF2000, demonstrates how they remained (despite the bold, aspirational and egalitarian rhetoric of the 1986/1992 NPE and POA), highly patriarchal and anti-egalitarian (Bhog, 2002).

Although not an explicitly gendered critique of knowledge, Rampal’s exploration of how Eklavya’s HSTP curriculum provided space for girls and their female teacher to develop critical thinking and question local traditions and superstitions reinforces a fundamental theme: social transformation, inclusive of gender relationship, will either not occur, or

take decades, whilst learners are actively discouraged from thinking independently, questioning, and creating their own knowledge (Rampal, 1995).

Although the number of theorised explorations of gender and classroom processes is small<sup>35</sup> (Wazir, 2000:26; Ramachandran, 2003:9), this literature is growing. In an early work, Kumar problematises his own sex-segregated education and its impact on his early conceptualisation of girls and women, suggesting that schools should provide 'counter-socialisation' to mainstream gender regimes (Kumar, 1986:23). Bhattacharjee reflects on a year's ethnographic study on gender-socialisation with two Standard 4 primary classes and their female teachers in Gujarat, providing detailed insights into how everyday practice reproduced *inequitable* gender-differentiations, whilst the teachers appeared indifferent to the plight of girls and their own practice (Bhattacharjee, 1999:338). As an example of 'best-practice', Parthasarathi's account of a gender reform initiative in a Delhi private school demonstrates how a gender sensitised and dedicated head-teacher can bring about radical change (Parthasarathi, 1988).

Work addressing bias in textbooks and learning materials reflects the evolution of academic discourses over four decades. A detailed exploration of primary Maths textbooks and their production, reported by Harris in 1998, highlights 'endemic bias' (Harris, 1998:77), indicating that little had changed since Kalia conducted a similar study in 1979 (Kalia, 1979). Kumar's comparison of the 'prominent symbols of social relationships' used in Indian and Canadian children's reading materials reinforces the findings of western gender scholarship (Kumar, 1989:31-32). Rao and Dutt's more recent exploration of the primary textbooks of Karnataka demonstrates how few women were involved in textbook preparation and concludes that 'instead of freeing the individual from conformity to traditional sex roles, the textbooks strengthened a sex-based division of labour where men were decision makers and women their supporters' (Rao and Dutt, 1999:152).

Ray reports on a research endeavour in two secondary schools in Calcutta (Ray, 1988), arguing that the girls were not simply 'passive recipients' of the dominant ideologies fed to them by school experiences, but active in constructing their own subjectivities and resisting dominant discourses. There does not, however, appear to be any literature

---

<sup>35</sup> Even of NGO initiatives, although this review only focuses on government schooling.

exploring poor girls' perspectives, much less engaging with those attending government elementary schools.

### Section reflections

Although the literature reviewed presents few examples of resistance, subversion or celebration, and offers little cause for optimism, progress has been made, evidenced by improving gender indicators and the increasing amount, scope and application of gender literature. This is indicative of a growing gender-conscious and informed human resource, returning us to Kabeer's observation about the location of the 'promise' of social transformation being in the 'variety of interventions' and 'the myriad changes which they unleash' (Kabeer, 1999a:46).

## 3.6 Conclusions and connections

This review of the gender literature has completed the broad contextual and theoretical framework for the study. The chapter began by outlining the social embodiment paradigm inherent in Connell's approach, then summarised insights that can be gleaned from this scholarship, and that of other feminists, reproduction theorists and development analysts, to guide explorations of social change and identity construction in non-western settings. The review of Indian literature illustrated entrenched imbalances in gendered power, production, emotional and symbolic relations, indicative of highly patriarchal gender orders and regimes. Literature on schooling reflected replication of these patterns (despite ongoing educational reform addressing these issues) within schooling regimes, and the institutional, professional and knowledge regimes associated with formal education. This suggests that the educational transformation of gender identities and relationships will be complex and challenging, and will be best enabled by an efficient, functioning and highly gender-sensitive schooling system.

The next chapter outlines the study, methodology, methods and ethical and practical complexities.

## Chapter 4 Ethical, methodological and practical complexities

Having outlined the broad contextual and theoretical frameworks for the study, this chapter provides greater detail on the research itself. The first section summarises the broad design and the second addresses the complex interplay of ethical and methodological considerations. The third section provides greater detail on the logistics of conceptualising, conducting and re-presenting the research, and the final section presents some of the complexities and challenges encountered these processes. The possible implications of my own 'identity' (as a female western researcher with limited language skills) for all research processes are woven throughout these problematisations.

### 4.1 Research Design

This introductory section provides an overview of the research design, theoretical frameworks, key assumptions influencing the design, and analysis.

#### 4.1.1 Methodology, research questions and methods

The investigation is a mixed-methods case study, following a dual-case design, with an initial emphasis on ethnographic exploration. Yin describes case study as 'an empirical enquiry that':

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
- the boundaries between context and phenomenon are not clearly evident. (Yin, 1989:13).

As Yin describes it, 'the case study enquiry'.

- copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and, as one result
- relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and, as another result,
- benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (Yin, 1989:13).

The following section outlines the research, addressing the dimensions central to Yin's definition. The study was set in two schools: Vidya, a large, double-shift primary school in Nakuur town; and Sagar, a small middle school (which functioned as a primary school in the morning) in Sagar village, 5 km from the town. From a broad gaze incorporating both schools and all twenty-four teachers, the study focuses progressively in to two focus-classes: the 'terminal' classes of each school: Standard 5 and Standard 8. The study asks:

1. What are the gendered educational aspirations and practices of girls, their families and teachers?
2. What informs these gendered educational aspirations and practices?
3. What educational and autonomy achievements are enabled by the intersection of these aspirations and practices?
4. What shapes girls' different aspirations and achievements?

Fieldwork was conducted over three phases, totalling 13 months, between March 2001 and April 2003, spanning three academic years and incorporating three Standard 5 and 8 cohorts (of the 2000-2001, 2001-2002 and 2002-2003 academic years). A three-week pilot (Phase 1) was followed by 4 months learning Hindi and two six-month periods living with a local family in Nakuur town (Phases 2 and 3), separated by six months of analysis. The pilot was conducted at the end of an academic year, Phases 2 and 3 began three months into each subsequent school year.

The analysis in the thesis draws most deeply on data from six teachers associated with the two classes over all phases (four were government teachers, two were full-time private tuition tutors); the 42 girls of Cohort 3 (22 primary and 20 middle) and their families. The 'constants' across all phases were the schools, the school years and three of the six teachers: one from Vidya and two from Sagar. Interaction was brief with Cohort 1 pupils, largely ethnographic with those of Cohort 2, and more structured with those of Cohort 3. (Appendix 7 outlines data collection times, activities and scope). The Cohort 3 girls were present in each focus-school throughout all fieldwork phases.

The focus on the two Cohort 3 terminal classes is informed by numerous contextualising school-focused activities. These included interaction with 77 teachers



from 43 schools and more sustained interaction, including interviews and lesson observations, with seven more teachers from three other Nakuur schools. Within the two focus-schools it included (i) interaction with 18 other teachers, (ii) observations of, interviews with and collection of background data from all Cohort 3 boys and their families; and (iii) ethnographic observations in Cohort 2 classes, 18 pupil and 15 family interviews (including only 2 with boys and none with boys' families), the collection of Cohort 2 background pupil data against a limited number of fields<sup>36</sup>; and (iii) brief lesson observations in Cohort 1 classes.

On a wider scale, non-school activities included attendance at four large government teacher trainings programmes, many Eklavya events and training sessions and activities of other NGOs, including visits to an Adivasi girls' boarding hostel. The processes of obtaining policy documents, statistics and permissions led to interaction with twenty-one officials (only two of whom were women) from three education offices<sup>37</sup>, the Collectorate, and neighbouring block offices; and others from Bhopal offices and 14 local government departments, offices or institutions (See Appendix 9, Tables 4 and 5).

During the first and second phases, data was principally collected through unstructured ethnographic observations, interactions and discussions, recorded in reflective fieldnotes. Time was spent during the early stages getting to know staff and pupils; developing an understanding of processes, practices, norms and procedures; apprenticing field assistants, improving my Hindi and collecting background information on, and conducting interviews with, a selection of teachers, pupils and their families. In the third phase, although I continued living as an ethnographer, ethnographic insights were supplemented with data from more structured lesson observations, background questionnaires and interviews. All interviews were 'transacted' as a joint effort with a local field assistant, recorded (with permission), then translated by a professional, away from the field. (See Appendix 8 for interview schedules and background-data fields).

---

<sup>36</sup> Data analysis between Phases 2 and 3 illustrated what background data I would need to collect in Phase 3.

<sup>37</sup> Nakuur SSA, District and Block Offices.

#### 4.1.2 Theoretical frameworks

The exploration takes the capability approach as its starting point, draws on insights from feminist, reproduction and critical social theory and is set within the social embodiment paradigm. The capability approach provides a normative framework to assess socio-political priorities, institutional environments and the processes, relationships and outcomes of schooling. Reproduction theory and the work of Bourdieu frames conceptualisation of the reproduction of social advantage. Connell's work is used to explore how gender identities and aspirations are formed, focussing on 'the ways things appear' across the four structures of gendered power, production, emotional and symbolic relations.

The tension between structure and agency is present in all three approaches. All are grounded in the possibility of individual agency, but give varying attention to the power of structures in influencing such agency. The capability approach is the most aspirational and optimistic, offering a normative framework and, despite its acknowledgement of conversion factors, emphasising positive 'potentiality'. Bourdieu's framework tends more towards emphasis on how agency is framed, through practice, within social structures, and how this framing can frustrate policy aspirations. Connell's approach sits between the two, outlining gender structures and demonstrating the symbiotic relationships between agency and structure, wherein individuals ('bodies') are both agents and objects, constituted within, but also acting on, and thus able to transform the social world.

Although the study obviously rejects extreme structuralist claims of a universal, unchanging 'order of things', material or symbolic, it does draw on post-structuralist ontological critiques of how language and discourses can be mechanisms to allow the reproduction of structures, giving the appearance of an unchanging 'order of things'. It is informed by feminist 'post-structuralist deconstruction of unified subjectivity into fragmented subject positions' (McNay, 1992:1); accounts of subjectivity as performance (Butler, 1990; Butler, 1993; Butler, 1997a; Butler, 1997b) and explorations of resistance and challenge to discursive formations (McNay, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1993; Deveaux, 1994).

The study also rejects extreme versions of post-modernism involving ‘suspension of all forms of value-judgement, of concepts such as truth, freedom and rationality’ (McNay, 1992:1). Such positions undermine initiatives for change, and are thus in conflict with the work of Sen, Bourdieu and Connell. It does draw, however, on post-modern epistemic critiques, particularly the rejection of meta-narratives and essentialism and emphasis on the multiplicity of knowledges. In this sense, it is an empirical attempt to ‘examine representations of the gender binary on multiple levels and expose its illusory nature’ (Dillabough, 1999:393, endnote 14)

None of the above theoretical approaches are used to provide a rigid structure for the collection or analysis of data. The frameworks, literature and personal experience led to the formulation of eight assumptions, however, which did influence research design. These assumptions were:

- i. that identity construction is gendered, but differently so according to class, caste, ethnicity and religion;
- ii. that gendered identity construction is related to beliefs about the ‘nature’ of men and women, which are intricately related to beliefs about the nature of knowledge;
- iii. that it is more difficult to encourage individual ‘freedom’ where ‘instrumental freedoms’ are non-existent, or where their foundational regimes are ‘inadequate’;
- iv. that manifestations of binaries in power, production, emotional and/or symbolic relationships can reproduce belief in the essential difference of men and women, frustrating opportunities for change, and
- v. that *aspiration* for change is a fundamental prerequisite for any change.

In relation to education, the assumptions were:

- i. that many pupils’ educational failure might be attributed to the poor quality of schooling;
- ii. that, even in ‘adequate’ conditions, this failure may be explained by reference to family poverty, but also to the gap between school and home cultures, and to families’ symbolic capitals; and
- iii. that girls’ educational achievements might be significantly constrained by familial expectations of limited return to their schooling.

The eighth assumption was that educational processes and relationships might intersect with girls' position within families, communities and society to perpetuate, for the majority, the reproduction of subordinate, rather than empowered, gender identities.

#### 4.1.3 Iterative cycles

Although broadly informed by these assumptions, the study was largely inductive (Cohen and Manion, 1994:3-4). Data collection, processing and analysis continued in iterative cycles, operating on both descriptive and causal levels (Silverman, 2001). Given the acute lack of qualitative, descriptive explorations of processes, practices and/or attitudes (gender or otherwise) at the levels of government elementary schooling, the research set out to respond to the questions whilst analytically representing processes, attitudes and relationships (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Analysis draws on six data sets (detailed in Appendix 9). Policy/project documents and statistics were contextualising secondary sources; textbooks and supplementary materials, and observation, background and interview data were primary sources. Textbooks and materials were those used by both classes over all phases. Observation data was mainly ethnographic, recorded in seven forms of fieldnotes, supplemented by more structured Cohort 3 observations (with accompanying videos) for 15 primary and 22 middle school lessons. Background data was collected for two schools, 27 teachers and 110 Cohort 3 pupils and families. Interviews were conducted with 24 teachers, 112 Cohort 3 pupils and 105 families. All data for Cohort 3 pupils (boys as well as girls) and their respective families was analysed, and although the arguments of the thesis draw most deeply on data pertaining to the girls and their families (due to limited space and the need for depth), they are informed by knowledge and analysis of data pertaining to boys and their families.

My awareness that many interviewees might say what they felt they 'should', or what I 'wanted to hear' and that teachers and pupils might behave differently during observations emphasised the need to triangulate data from different sources (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Cohen and Manion, 1994:233-250; Mason, 2002:190-191). This led to the triangulation and cross-referencing of interview, background and observational data from three main sources: pupils, families and teachers. Issues of validity were woven through the entire endeavour (Cohen and Manion, 1994:111,281-282; Silverman,

2000:175; Mason, 2002:38-39, 187-194) affecting design, triangulation and analysis. Early analysis of ethnographic data contextualised the arguments concerning personal bias and validity in Hammersley's *What's Wrong with Ethnography?* (Hammersley, 1992) and Visweswaran's *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography* (Visweswaran, 1994). It became clear at an early stage that, given the complexities of the research, compounded by those of my 'outsider' status and background, I needed to triangulate ethnographic with other types of data.

### Section reflections

The above section has outlined the study, theoretical frameworks and cycles of data collection, processing and analysis. The following section illustrates the complex ways in which ethical and methodological considerations both influenced each other, and had to be balanced against each other. This discussion builds on the 'Genesis of the study' in the introductory chapter.

## 4.2 Ethical and methodological considerations

All research entails ethical considerations: those entailed in this investigation are complexly interwoven throughout, from conceptualisation to re-presentation.

From the outset, I followed the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 1992). I strove to be honest and straightforward; explained the study to everyone (adjusting my approach for different groups); requested 'informed consent' (Mason, 2002:80-82) for all activities, including audio and video recordings, and protected confidentiality at all costs. I respected the right of individuals to decline involvement, re-tell their stories or to contest my representations, incorporating reflections on any difficulties that arose in the analysis. All research ethics of working with children were upheld. As children's articulation of independent opinions was often discouraged in this setting, I was particularly sensitive to the need to give them spaces to reflect and respond, and not put answers in their mouths.

More powerfully than official guidelines, however, the study was driven by personal desire to expose and disrupt (rather than be part of the reproduction of) global, national

and gender inequalities. Nothing policed me as much as my own conscience, and this applied equally to the design, conduct and re-presentation of the research.

The study was inspired by practical concerns (Robson, 1993:xi,2-4). I wanted to understand how the educational persistence and overall achievement of Indian girls could be improved, and what needed to happen if education were to contribute to greater gender equality. Furthermore, my primary concern was not to gain a doctorate, but conduct research that would be useful in India: for the academy, development practitioners, activists and teachers. Finally, my prior exposure to Indian classrooms and teachers had been primarily mediated through DFID 'missions' and 'elite' English-speaking, state/district officials and familiarity with the discourses had been framed by international and supra-national agency literature. These features led me to (i) consult widely with Indians on the research design; (ii) ground the investigation in Indian literature; (iii) learn Hindi, and (iv) frame the investigation as a case-study, with initial emphasis on ethnographic exploration.

Before finalising the design, I engaged deeply with post-development and post-colonial concerns and debates (Spivak, 1990; Ghosh, 1993; Said, 1994; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995; Pieterse and Parekh, 1995; Sachs, 1996; Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997). At the same time, I was merging them with, and struggling over, central feminist concerns and debates (Mohanty, 1988; Reinhartz, 1992; Visweswaran, 1994; Lal, 1996; Wolf, 1996; Choksi and Dyer, 1997; Oakley, 1998; Thapan, 1998). As this process deepened, I became increasingly concerned not only about imposing my 'outsider' structures and interpretations, but also about the potential for cultural imposition inherent in *any* social science research (Bishop, 1998; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

These dilemmas combined with methodological ones. I recognised the challenges posed by my lack of contextualising background knowledge; the type gained through 'osmosis' while living as a citizen at a particular socio-political moment. I also recognised that my 'outsider' status, my limited language fluency and my working with a local field assistant would affect the research: including how I conducted it; what I missed and what I noticed; how participants would position and respond to me. Ultimately, however, I believed that (i) this arena was either largely empirically uncharted, or work had been done but was not accessible to the international or

English-speaking communities, that (ii) there was a considerable need for such research in the pursuit of state, national and international goals and priorities, most personally significant, I felt I could not continue my work with integrity without access to such research.

As feminist and post-colonial ethical and methodological dilemmas began to tie me in 'paralysing knots' I decided it was better to conduct the investigation as best I could, acknowledging my limitations, than to deny its validity. Not only was I in a position to conduct it, but also in a situation that I felt untenable without access to such research. As I had no knowledge of other such research, I had no option. I hoped, that by conducting as deep an exploration of Indian literature as possible, and by making this exploration and the thesis available on the web, others could assess its contributions and weaknesses.

Connell emphasises the complexities involved in the democratisation of interactions between national gender orders, suggesting that they are 'so great that gender-democratic practice must often be ambiguous or contradictory' (Connell, 2002:148). He insists, however, that:

[P]rogressive movements cannot evacuate these arenas simply because democratic practice is difficult. Anti-democratic forces are certainly not evacuating them. (Connell, 2002:149).

In exploring the relevance and application of the gender aspirations of global development orthodoxy as exemplified in the second and third MDGs to rural India, this thesis focuses on the challenge of gender-democratic practice in relations both within and between gender orders.

As my confidence and sense of integrity 'regrouped', I remembered Ellsworth's challenge from *Why doesn't this feel empowering?* She centralises these issues, requiring that we acknowledge, but not be undermined by, our limitations:

If you can talk to me in ways that show you understand that your knowledge of me, the world, and 'the Right thing to do' will always be partial, interested and potentially oppressive to others, and if I can do the same, then we can work together on shaping and reshaping alliances for constructing circumstances in which students of difference can thrive. (Ellsworth, 1989:224).

This challenge encapsulates the guiding principle for the study. I recognised that whatever I did would be 'partial, interested and potentially oppressive to others', but I was aware of these tendencies and committed to revealing, addressing and hopefully disrupting them.

The desire to disrupt inequalities posed other significant challenges: a major one being how to prevent the confidence provided by the theoretical insights of Sen and Connell from (i) limiting my vision and interactions, bringing (post-colonial) closure, and (ii) being communicated in ways that would devalue others' perspectives.

The first half of the challenge appeared more 'technical', more under my control and thus less daunting. I acknowledged that the guiding theoretical frameworks were just that: guiding. I recognised my limited knowledge and perspectives, and committed myself to keeping my gaze wide, continually open to contradictions and the unexpected.

The second part was more difficult. I did not want the research to be a one-way process, in which I maintained control, requesting access to others' lives but restricting insight into mine: I wanted to engage in dialogical exchange with active subjects directing their own lives (Holquist, 1990; Holland and Lave, 2001:9-10). I feared that the sharing of my values and understandings with their 'expert' foundations might lead research participants to feel I was devaluing, or negating, theirs. Two things, however, facilitated more dialogical, affirming interactions.

The first was that my commitment to 'living' my strong belief that participants knew much better than I their own contexts, encouraged them to extend 'the benefit of the doubt' to me and assume I was genuine (and genuinely desired to contribute to the collective 'project' of the improvement of elementary education) until I demonstrated otherwise. The second was my understanding that respectful interaction demanded that I be as much myself as possible, sensitively and contextually. This was rendered highly significant by the fact that I 'could not hide'. Whilst I may have been able to appear neutral in formal interactions, the fact of my living ethnographically, and making significant friendships, meant that my life-style, attitudes, values and reactions were continually open to observation and analysis, which could be used to inform research participants' positioning of me. Had I tried to project myself as other than I was, my



lack of integrity would have been revealed to the very people from whom I was requesting it. I chose to share as much as I felt I could, as it felt appropriate, case-by-case, and to never refuse direct questions or purposefully misrepresent myself.

These foundational commitments to ‘disruption’ also determined the way I treated the data. The fundamental purpose of the study was to understand the relationships between schooling and empowerment for provincial Indian girls and teachers. If I were dishonest, not thorough, or had I manipulated the data to substantiate a ‘pet’ argument, the endeavour would have failed its purpose.

Another significant ethical challenge was how to re-present the research process so that my perspectives and interpretations were clearly recognisable, and that participants’ positions and negotiations would be identifiable apart from my subjective representations. One of the greatest challenges of writing was an ethical one: how to maintain a tentative tone, how to not sound too assured, to not impose my meanings as the only ones. How to, conversely, enable readers to see around my frameworks and interpretations to get as direct as possible a feel for the data.

### 4.3 Practical logistics

This section addresses practical logistics associated with the pilot study and redesign; consultations; selecting the teachers and focus-schools; working with field-assistants and translators; the interviews, ethnographic and structured observations; iterative cycles of data collection, processing and analysis, and re-presentation of research findings.

#### 4.3.1 Pilot study, redesign, consultations, school and teacher sample

The research was planned as an investigation of the construction of teachers’ gendered identities, their understanding of gender equality, the relation of both to school and classroom strategies, and the impacts/outcomes vis-à-vis pupils’ gendered identity constructions. The rationale for the study (designed in this way) was to gain some insight into ‘teacher factors’ that encouraged or impeded the transformation of girls’ gendered identities. After a pilot study (conducted in 4 districts), the gaze was broadened: teachers’ deprofessionalised position and lack of familiarity with the processes and outcomes of research and resultant anxiety rendered a uniquely teacher

focus counter-productive. The primary focus was therefore moved to the girls, and although the study became an investigation of all factors impacting on identity construction, teachers remained a key variable.

The field-sites for the pilot study were selected after considerable consultation with Indian educationalists, and the schools were selected in consultation with Eklavya. After visiting schools in four districts during the pilot, I returned to Nakuur to select two focus schools for Phase 2. Shortlist criteria were that schools (i) were functioning ‘adequately’ and recognised by Eklavya as having some ‘good’ teachers; (ii) were co-educational; (iii) did not have acute gender imbalance in terminal class enrolment; (iv) had at least one woman teacher, and (v) were close enough for me to reach by foot or (unreliable) public transport. After visiting all eligible schools, I chose the best two from those that had at *least* two teachers whose practice appeared competent and whose interactions with pupils were humane and affirming (with ideally one of these being Eklavya-trained). The middle school was small, with only one Standard 8 class, so the ethnographic gaze initially incorporated all who taught that class (this included two teachers in Phases 1 and 2 who did not teach the Cohort 3 class). The process was more complex at Vidya, as there were two shifts and four Standard 5 classes, two with female teachers and two with male teachers. After conducting observations and discussions with 16 teachers, I selected the teacher whose practice and impact appeared the most enabling for boys and girls – he was a new para-teacher, with no previous involvement with Eklavya. (The process of selecting the Vidya focus-class teacher is outlined in Chapter 8).

Table 1 introduces the teachers from both schools: those in the first column are men; those in the second are women, whereas there are equal numbers of men and women in the third. V indicates teachers associated with Vidya, S those associated with Sagar, and T those engaged in private tuition (uniquely). A/HT refers to Acting/Head Teacher and FC refers to Focus-class, followed by 5 or 8 to indicate the academic year. (Teachers are presented in this way according to ‘categories of practice’, explored in Chapter 8).

**Table 1: Introducing the teachers, grouped by ‘categories of practice’**

‘Disengaged’		‘Constrained’		‘Engaged’		
8 men: 6 Vidya 2 Sagar		8 women: all Vidya		4 men (1:V 1:S 2:T) 4 women (2:V 2:S)		
<i>Rakesh Chaturvedi</i>	M V	<i>Sarita Dharey</i>	F V	<b><i>Deepak Patodia: 1</i></b>	<b>M V</b>	<b>Std 5 FC</b>
<i>Ramesh Abhiwar</i>	M AHT-V	<i>Minakshi Kajwey</i>	F V	<b><i>Sanni Kevat: 2</i></b>	<b>M T:V</b>	<b>Std 5 FC</b>
M. Khan	M HT-V	Kusu Upadhyay	F V	<b><i>Santosh Pandey: 3</i></b>	<b>M AHT-S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Raju Sisodia	M V	Uma Badhai	F V	<b><i>Rounak Tiwari: 4</i></b>	<b>F S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Ajit Daley	M V	Shalini Sharma	F V	<b><i>Seema Dhakley: 5</i></b>	<b>F S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Rahul Mani	M V	Tamana Shukla	F V	<b><i>Lalit Varma: 6</i></b>	<b>M T:S</b>	<b>Std 8 FC</b>
Shailesh Chaubey	M S	Rajni Makvey	F V	<i>Mohini Singh: 7</i>	F V	
<b>Durgesh Sankarey</b>	M HT-S	Kalyani Gadri	F V	<i>Anu Uikey: 8</i>	F V	

The twelve teachers in italics (all eight in the third column, two in the first and two in the second) were more involved in the research than the non-italicised ones; the six in bold in the last column, all associated with two focus-classes, were the most involved. Of these, the most sustained interaction was with the three whose names are boxed/shaded (Deepak Patodia, Santosh Pandey and Rounak Tiwari), who are the focus of Chapter 8. Five Standard 5 pupils attended private tuition with Sanni Kevat, and almost all Standard 8 pupils attended tuition with Lalit Varma (neither were government teachers).

Seema Dhakley was a Standard 8 focus-class teacher, but her discomfort with research processes led me to use data from her as ‘contextualising’. Anu Uikey and Mohini Singh were non focus-class Standard 5 teachers. I had met and observed both in other schools during the pilot study, but final school selection meant that I would be unable to work with them. Both, however, were transferred from their Phase 1 schools to Standard 5 classes in Vidya, before the start of Phase 2. I therefore had the benefit of working with them, even though neither of their classes was ultimately selected as the focus-class. Both were transferred to Standard 1 for Phase 3, whilst Deepak was the only teacher to remain with Standard 5. (Teacher details are presented in Appendix 14, Table 1. This information is replicated on the bookmark).

The teachers involved in the study were either Lower Division Teachers (LDTs) or Division 3 Shiksha Karmis (SK3). As there were no other grades/types of teacher involved, I refer, throughout the thesis, to LDTs as ‘established-teachers’ and Shiksha Karmis as ‘para-teachers’.

(The teachers, pupils and families who participated in the research are introduced in depth in the following chapter).

#### 4.3.2 Field assistants and translators

I worked with a field assistant for two reasons: as I was so unfamiliar with the context and my Hindi was not fast enough for the type of explorations envisaged for interviews. I saw my assistant more as an intermediary, someone who could understand my position and conduct the interviews as my ‘mouthpiece’, whilst I could always interrupt, request clarification or ask new questions.

Five local students supported me throughout the fieldwork. All were middle class, part of a small group of English-speakers, none with English-speaking parents. The first three were women (purposefully), but local classed gender regimes made it difficult for them to continue working with me. The second two were men. Mukesh Shukla, from a respected local family, worked with me for many months over both phases. Nikhil Chandel, a computer teacher (originally from another district) joined in the last two months. A few interviews were attempted with early assistants; thereafter all were conducted with Mukesh until the final ones (with teachers), conducted with Nikhil. (See Appendix 11, Table 1, for discussion of the problems faced by female field assistants).

The process of preparing for each ‘type’ of interview was quite complex, due to the specificity of many of the gender concepts and provincial English ‘styles’. The process of conducting interviews and getting translations during the pilot study had enabled an early start for the search for an appropriate translator. Months were spent working with different translators before I found the right person, Kalyani Madan<sup>38</sup>, a professional translator, who had worked with Eklavya, knew the area and some teachers and shared the central concerns of the study. Having found her, the process of preparing interviews became less complex: I selected topics, expanded on themes and questions and had them translated. On receipt of translations, I discussed the concepts, meanings and ways to approach the topics with Mukesh, later Nikhil, so they could represent my intentions as closely as possible. Interviews were conducted in Hindi, ‘transacted’ by my assistant, while I followed, wrote notes and interjected wherever necessary. They were

---

<sup>38</sup> Her real name.

recorded, with permission, and the recordings sent to Kalyani, for translation and word-processing, and returned by e-mail.

### 4.3.3 Interviews

Semi-structured, 'personalised' interviews were conducted with pupils, families and teachers.

Teacher interviews were full and broad, as well as specific, as I wanted to explore as much as I could whilst I had the opportunity, and because the pilot had warned me against direct gender questions. (See Appendix 8, Paragraph 6 for a summary of interview topics). Interviews were of two types: introductory ones to identify perspectives and themes, and later ones, building on preliminary analysis. The second set, conducted in the last month of fieldwork, were personalised, building on all data, my knowledge of each teacher and my estimation of how much could be asked.

Single interviews with parents and pupils were conducted, with Mukesh, in the final months. Background and performance data were collated beforehand, with notes from the observations, so incidents could be described and discussed and reflections requested on any patterns in attendance or performance and reasons. I started pupil interviews with Standard 5, progressed to topic-based explorations with the most communicative Standard 8 pupils (girls and boys) to identify themes, then moved on to interview all Standard 8 pupils.

In all interviews, the discussion and questions based on background data provided a focus and alleviated some respondent anxiety about 'correct answers'. It was through discovering discrepancies in exam results that I learnt of the extent of cheating, and through difference in interview accounts/reasons for patterns, that I learnt of the complexity of family life and the reluctance of most pupils and families to express their real practices and justifications.

#### 4.3.4 Observations

##### Ethnographic observations

In addition to all the experiences gained through 'living the research' ethnographically, some unanticipated experiences were foundational to the contextualisation of more structured data.

The most significant was that of living with Shruti, an adolescent girl attending a Nakuur government school who 'adopted' me as a sister/aunt. She was a constant source of information, surprise, optimism and 'confidences'. The ways in which her self-representations changed throughout our friendship emphasised the level of trust that might be required before adolescent girls (especially those with less deep relationships with me) would be comfortable with frank disclosure.

These insights were supplemented with friendships with three groups of girls and one boy: with five Cohort 2 Vidya girls (from a non-focus class); with girls from three Cohort 2 Sagar Passi<sup>39</sup> families; with two very outgoing Cohort 3 Standard 5 girls; and with one Vidya 'naughty boy'. All went out of their way to form friendships with me, enriching my life and the study.

The final 'vision-broadening' friendships were with the women who joined as field assistants; Shiksha Karmis on a residential training course; urban middle class girls studying at the computer centre where Nikhil taught, and the sister of a Cohort 3 Sagar girl, herself training to be a computer teacher.

Insight into the gender attitudes and practices of teachers and officials was broadened through observation of their interactions with, and plans for, different family members. I visited teachers' and officials' homes and met families, and these experiences helped contextualisation.

Finally, as teachers were sometimes absent when I arrived for observations, I had the opportunity to stay with both classes, and sometimes even teach. Pupils appreciated the status reversals enabled by my comic Hindi, as well as my apologies for it and requests

---

<sup>39</sup> A Dalit Jati whose traditional occupation was tapping palm wine: toddy.

that they teach me. There was an additional benefit: this time with pupils, more than any other activity, enabled me to assess strengths and weakness, understand some of their problems and recognise discrepancies in official exam results.

The most sustained unstructured educational observations were conducted with Cohort 2 Standard 5 and 8 classes, 35 casual class interactions and 25 unstructured observations at Vidya, 44 casual interactions and 26 unstructured observations at Sagar. These were contextualised by casual school visits constituting over 60% of functioning days at Vidya and 30% of those at Sagar (See Appendix 7)<sup>40</sup>.

In each context, the process was not technically full participant-observation (Coffey, 1999:36; Mason, 2002:91-93): I was always an outsider conducting research, never an official, teacher, family member, and obviously not a pupil, and therefore did not share the exact responsibilities, tasks or challenges faced by any within these groups. I was, however, participating almost as any non-government 'worker' in attempts to collect information, especially from administrative and educational offices; participating fully in the life of my immediate host family and communities; and in the daily processes of the two case-study schools and classrooms. Although participants positioned me in contradictory ways, I felt more often regarded as a collaborative colleague than inspector. I therefore use the term participant to describe the observations, as I felt as if I was, and as if I were also positioned as, one of many individuals involved with the 'project of schooling'.

#### Structured classroom observations

Unstructured observations were supplemented with a week of structured observations in each Cohort 3 class. Time was spent during Phases 1 and 2 exploring gender patterns in classroom strategies and interactions. Such quantitative analysis of gendered management strategies and/or teacher/pupil interactions did not, however, appear to get to the heart of the issue: these processes did not seem to be the most significant factors enabling or discouraging girls' academic success, persistence through schooling and the transformation of their gendered identities. Girls' non-school lives were so highly gendered that even non-gendered classroom management strategies might have

---

<sup>40</sup> Calculated by triangulating data from registers, teachers, pupils and families.

had little impact. (They might even have had the ultimate negative impact: girls' withdrawal from school due to family displeasure over too much girl/boy interaction).

It became increasingly clear that there was a hierarchy to the questions - one so obvious that I had rejected it at the outset of the study. These questions were (i) Were all girls learning/succeeding? (ii) What helped them succeed/hindered their success? (iii) Did these processes and/or relationships encourage criticality? And (iv) did these processes and/or relationships encourage girls to desire more empowered identities? The focus was thus not on gendered responses to gendered curricula, but on what helped girls stay in education. As the *foundations* for heightened autonomy were undermined with the termination of schooling, and conversely strengthened with every additional year of attendance, it was crucial to establish if girls were learning, and, if so, what helped their learning.

All Phase 3 structured observations were conducted with Mukesh and preceded and followed by considerable discussion, contributing to the identification of themes, processes and patterns, later to the design, testing and completion of the structured observation schedules. As it could take days for a teacher to complete a 'cycle' of activities associated with a given topic, it was important to observe at least five consecutive lessons per subject, and I followed a timetable, hoping to minimise teacher absence. (Standard 5 and 8 textbooks and guides are listed at Appendix 9, List 3. Table 1 outlines sections covered during structured observations. Activities covered during each session are presented in Appendix 17, Tables 1 and 2. Textbook extracts are available at [www.elspethpage@freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage@freeuk.com))<sup>41</sup>.

These structured observations, of five/six consecutive sessions in three primary and four middle school subjects, were conducted towards the end of fieldwork and videoed. Structured Observation Schedules (SOS) modelled on pupil's seating patterns were used in conjunction with class seating plans, the latter composed from cropped digital photos.

Appendix 8, Tables 1 and 2 present each SOS, followed by guides for completion and interpretation. Each pupil had a grid, containing some assessment data, with spaces for

---

<sup>41</sup> Eklavya's *Kushi-Kushi* programme and package had been closed in Nakuur by 1999.



observations to be recorded in tally format. Standard 5 focussed on 3 subjects (Hindi, Environmental Studies and Maths) and two dimensions (Interaction Style and Written Work). Standard 8 focussed on four subjects (English, Maths, Social Science and Science) and three dimensions (Interaction Style, Progress in Class and Written Work). Assessment data, and possible responses for these dimensions are presented in Appendix 8, Paragraphs 2 and 4.

During observations, our attention was only focussed on 'Interaction Style'. Just as we had to observe five consecutive sessions, we also had to observe for the duration of each session, as it was difficult to select a representative section. We watched for occurrences from one of six categories, represented by a letter (See Appendix 8) and recorded the appropriate letter whenever it happened: we both focussed on all pupils. Observation was straightforward in Standard 8, but more challenging in Standard 5.

The video, with a wide-angle lens, was set on a tripod at the front of the class, facing the pupils, and left to run for the entire session. (Pupils had experimented with it over 9 months, shooting and reviewing footage on the playback screen, and had lessons videoed to minimise impact). As this process was conducted towards the end of the fieldwork, the pupils were comfortable with us, and we were able to compare the video footage with our knowledge of non-videoed teaching environments.

We stopped observing five minutes after written work was set to see what had been done (Recorded in Column 2 of the SOS for Standard 8, not done for Standard 5 as nothing had been done). The books were checked again at the end of each session, and work recorded (Columns 2 for Standard 5 and 3 for Standard 8). Once home, we compared and discussed schedule entries, reviewed video footage and completed another SOS to substantiate/challenge initial accounts.

#### **4.3.5 Data collection, processing and analysis**

Data collection, processing and analysis continued in iterative cycles throughout the study, with the pace of processing determining that of collection. Fieldnotes, whether transferred from notebooks or written directly onto the laptop, were processed on a daily basis, to prevent insights from the second day 'overwriting' those of the first. When laptop use was impossible, handwritten notes were more detailed and reflective,

increasing the delayed processing burden, some of which occurred in the UK. Most data was also processed as soon as possible after collection: school and teacher background data was tabulated and presented in Word, printed and shared for verification, and pupil and family background data collated into Excel spreadsheets to allow for verification and early analysis to inform observations. Handwritten SOS entries were processed daily, whilst accompanying videos were transferred to JPEG format and stored on DVDs (See Appendix 9, Paragraphs 6 and 7). As it took time for interviews to be translated, fieldnotes and tapes were used for preliminary analysis. One day was allocated weekly for reflection and analysis. Wherever possible, each new week's activities were delayed until this occurred.

The study drew on four principal forms of analysis, the first two continuing throughout, the second two conducted away from the field. The first form was continual, repeated, reflective re-visiting of all data. Re-reading fieldnotes, experimental manipulation of quantitative data in Excel and repeated listening to taped interviews helped ideas fall into place. The second form was manipulation of pupil and family qualitative data in Excel. Pupil and family data was entered into a class spreadsheet and then manipulated/sorted against each field or series of fields in turn to identify potential relationships for investigation. This took considerable time, and the process often revealed small errors in the data that could be pursued and corrected. In the UK, once all quantitative data was reliable, spreadsheet entries finalised and significant variables identified, these processes were repeated.

Once all qualitative fieldnotes and translations were complete, they were formatted for NVIVO (which included giving them filenames that would contribute to the analytic process) and then imported. Each group of interviews (the teachers, the Cohort 3 pupils; and their families) was worked on as a discrete set. Each set was read in its entirety to identify themes, then each interview coded accordingly. Coding tables were created, ordered from the most to least frequently occurring themes/codes, and those with the greatest number of entries were selected for further reduction, this time manual. New NVIVO documents, of the extracted data (per-code, per-set) were created, and hard copies colour-coded according to most frequent sub-themes within the main themes (See Appendix 10 for codes and coding tables). These processes

revealed that some issues assumed central were not, whilst others, barely recognised during early reading, were repeatedly reiterated.

Fieldnotes were coded and analysed as this first coding of interviews. Given their scope, however, this was done more selectively, each time related to a particular area, and once I was confident about themes and issues.

The DVD recordings of structured observations, although not systematically analysed, were extremely useful during analysis and the ‘shaping’ of Chapter 9. They served as a ‘vital’ memory-jog: watching them took me straight back to the fieldwork, the observations and the people involved.

As the analysis continued, I returned to the interviews of the six teachers associated with both Cohort 3 classes and of Cohort 3 girls and their families, exploring the different values attached to schooling. I identified nine recurrent themes, all of which reflected conceptualisations by Elaine Unterhalter and Harry Brighouse of ‘positional’, ‘instrumental’ and ‘intrinsic’ returns to schooling (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2003). The themes (listed on the first page of Appendix 10) were thus coded following this categorisation, with one ‘positional’, six ‘instrumental’ and two ‘intrinsic’ codes.

The fourth form of analysis and triangulation occurred almost subconsciously as I re-worked *re*-presentations after the first full draft of the written thesis. Whilst the process of writing the thesis provided the broad structure emerging from the data, that of reworking, after the first full draft, revealed further level of connections<sup>42</sup> which had been submerged in the first sifting process. At the same time (after completing the first full form) I obtained the 2003 board exam results for Cohort 3 pupils. These were analysed and found to confirm all categorisations and assumptions, so were added to the thesis in relevant places.

#### 4.3.6 Re-presentation

Data analysis is presented in six chapters. Chapters 5, outlining the setting and the sample, and Chapter 6, outlining local gender, bureaucratic and professional regimes, draw most deeply on ethnographic data and background information. (Given teachers’

---

<sup>42</sup> The outcome and ‘reward’ of successive periods of ‘digging over’ and ‘composting’.

vulnerable, de-professionalised positions, the rich extracts on systemic inadequacies within many interviews were not used for the exploration of professional regimes in Chapter 6). Chapter 7, exploring families' educational aspirations, practices and the reasons for them, triangulates data from Phase 3 observations (informed by analysis of Phase 1 and 2 observations) with background information and interviews with families, girls and teachers. Chapter 8, outlining teacher aspirations, practices and regimes in the 2 schools, draws on all data sets from all phases. Chapter 9, exploring processes and relationships in both focus-classes (and associated tuition sessions), is grounded in all data, but draws most deeply on that from classroom observations, performance data and interviews with teachers and Cohort 3 girls. Chapters 8 and 9 analyse the experiences of all pupils, boys as well as girls. Chapter 10, exploring girls' aspirations, practices and their outcomes, triangulates the same data sets used for chapters 7 and 9, drawing most deeply on interview data from Cohort 3 girls.

Pseudonyms were given to all teachers, education officials, NGO representatives, field assistants, my host family and local friends from the first meeting. Given the number of pupils and families, however, their real names were retained until the final version of the thesis. Adults were asked to select pseudonyms, with different initials from real names. As with real surnames, assigned surnames reflect jati or caste affiliation. Of the 189 Cohort 2 and 3 pupils, pseudonyms were assigned only to Cohort 3 girls. These start with the same initials as real names and girls who share first or surnames share pseudonyms. To reduce confusion during analysis, all pupils kept actual class roll numbers, but these are not included in the thesis and roll numbers are substituted with 'representation numbers'.

The terms family/familial are used rather than parents/parental as many significant adults had an impact on educational aspirations and investment decisions. I use the term daughters, rather than wards, throughout. Although providers of private tuition were always referred to as teachers, I use the word tutors when referring to them alone. The collective term 'teachers' is used when referring to teachers and tutors.

Income data was used to explore the socio-economic differences between families and teachers. Families provided estimations of annual income, of the yields reaped and expenses invested or of daily-wage rates and the average number of days worked per

year. Given tensions between established-teachers and para-teachers, inquiries into teacher salary were problematic. In order to avoid causing offence and creating additional tensions, teachers' minimum and maximum possible monthly 'take-home pay' per grade were calculated following official payment guidelines (as outlined in Appendix 5). All teachers and families were assigned to annual 'Income Groups': starting at Group A, from up to Rs20,000; progressing in multiples of Rs.10,000 to Group Q, up to Rs.180,000 (See Appendix 14, Table 2 for these groups). This division (into groups progressing in multiples of Rs 10,000) created eighteen groups, but was intended to facilitate comparisons with income group analysis presented in the Indian and Madhya Pradesh Human Development Reports and the National Family Health Surveys (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998; Shariff, 1999; IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000; IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002; Shariff, 2002). The retention of these 18 groups was also deemed necessary to illustrate the vast differences in income within and between the groups of teachers, Sagar families and Vidya families.

Given the large number of girls in the study, I needed some way of grouping them beyond their school and family income group, both for analysis and re-presentation. They were thus assigned to categories according to 'aspirations for continued schooling'. Family 'aspirational groups' were labelled 'Confident', 'Aspirational', 'Undermined' and 'Indifferent'. Girls' groups were labelled 'Positive', 'Confused', 'Undermined', 'Resistant' and 'Torn'. Teachers were also assigned to three categories, related to their engagement with classroom teaching and teaching-learning processes for the duration of the fieldwork. These 'categories of practice' were labelled as 'Disengaged', 'Constrained' and 'Engaged'. Whilst this type of categorisation is obviously a heuristic device and represents researcher imposition, all relevant data, from all sources, was triangulated to assign girls and families to categories which best-reflected participants' self-representations, not only in interviews, but also throughout the study.

For presentational purposes, within each aspirational category, families are ranked by income order, starting with the lowest income. I follow this framework when introducing the girls and families and when using quotations from them, especially in chapters 7 and 10. As there are 42 girls, however, and as many share the same surname, I give each a unique reference number (GURN), consisting of information about

school, family aspirational category, representation number and family income group. (For example, VC1B represents School-Vidya, Family Aspirational Category-Confident, Representation Number-1 and Income Group-B). These numbers follow each quotation from families and girls in the thesis. This enables the linking of family quotations to the 'correct' daughter and provides information to contextualise each response.

A similar presentational strategy is used for teachers. Teachers' unique reference numbers (TURN) consist of their school, sex, 'category of practice' and representation number. This number is preceded by 'T' for tuition tutors, and followed by information indicating if the teachers was a head-teacher (Phase 2) or and acting head-teacher (Phase 3). (For example, Santosh Pandey's TURN is SME3-AHT. This represents School-Sagar, Sex-Male, Teacher-Practice Category-Engaged, Representation Number-3 and Acting Head-Teacher, Phase 3). Representation numbering starts with the six most involved teachers, progresses to the next six, then ends with the least involved 12.

Given the complexity of teacher, girl and family variables, a 'bookmark' presents a synthesis of the most important background data, presented in the ways outlined above. Side A presents data for teachers and side B for families and girls. (The bookmark is available separately and at Appendix 19).

Finally, considerable information is deliberately presented in the appendices, as a resource for further analysis, and to provide the possibility of 'routes' around my frameworks to processed data.

#### 4.4 Complexities, challenges and issues

The preceding section details the logistics of the research. The next one explores the complexities and challenges. As the methodological issues and lessons emerging from the study were so significant that their exploration could fill an entire thesis, reflections here are restricted to *particularly* context-dependent issues, framed by the theme of challenge, interwoven by a 'golden thread' of identity.

Three features contributed to making the study particularly challenging, and may have done so, in different ways, in any comparable post-colonial context, for any researcher.

The first was the qualitative, ethnographic focus on gender. The second was the inadequacy of institutional structures, norms and procedures, compounded by inadequate transparency and accountability. The third was the general difficulty of life, due to infrastructural inadequacy: not only the difficulty of 'achieving', but also that of 'just getting by' on a daily basis.

Above and before all of these features, however, was the crucial one of identity: the whole process was affected by the ways in which research participants positioned me. Two perceptions were constantly reiterated; more so by older generations and 'provincial' middle classes, less so by younger generations and focus-class families. The first was that western values, especially those associated with the self, intimate relationships and family ties, are morally inferior to Indian ones, even those of cosmopolitan families. The second was that Westerners perceive their values, agendas and contributions as superior<sup>43</sup>. If I discussed gender with anyone, but significantly women, without before we had had a chance to get to know one another, their responses were often defensive of local gender regimes and Indian gender orders, positioning me as an apologist for what they perceived as selfish western values. After time had been invested getting to know each other, these dynamics changed and participants engaged in less defensive reflection.

This background was crucially important for the study, the context of which was framed by the combination of (locally almost unknown) supra-national, national and state gender equality agendas; conflicting district, town and village gender environments; and my own identity and background.

I was a British woman, living alone in different culture for periods of up to six months; 'adopted' by a local family with whom I had no previous ties; I rode an old and unreliable bicycle, then on a moped; and worked with male assistants, almost as an 'honorary male', with privileged and non-gendered access to people and places. Not only was I all these things, but participants also knew that I had been a teacher and a teacher-trainer, that I had once worked with DFID, that I had the support of some government officials in Delhi and Bhopal and that I had started the study with the support of the RGSM Mission Director and Nakuur District Collector. Not all of these

---

<sup>43</sup> These perceptions, however, did not prevent admiration for western infrastructural and institutional efficiency and 'human freedoms'.

features were significant for all participants in the study: different ones affected interactions with different groups, most notably officials, teachers and families. Of all participants, pupils were the least affected by my background, the most influenced by my behaviour.

The significance of these issues was intensified by the fact that I was conducting a qualitative exploration of gender relations. Although gender research can be non-emotive, the more qualitative, ethnographic and feminist it is, the greater the possibilities of causing offence, especially (but not uniquely) to those benefiting from established gender orders and regimes. Few people were left indifferent by the combination of context, focus and researcher location, and participants' positioning and reactions had to be triangulated and weighed in all considerations and analysis.

Most people also changed in how they positioned and reacted to me throughout the study, with the most significant change occurring between the second and third phases. Many participants were cautious and diffident throughout the first six months, but I received a 'homecomers' welcome on my return for Phase 3, and most subsequent interactions were transformed. Had the fieldwork stopped after the first six months, the thesis would have been entirely different. Phases 1 and 2 laid foundations and provided insights into how individuals and groups chose to project and *re*-present themselves, but it was in the final phase that some chose to share their perspectives more frankly: they ceased giving the answers they felt I was looking for, and started engaging more dialogically. This dynamic, and many other incidents throughout the research, reinforced the pivotal importance of researcher conduct and attitudes.

#### 4.4.1 Access, language and negotiations

Considerable time was spent planning and negotiating access for two years prior to the pilot study. During my work with DFID India, academics and activists had ceaselessly reminded me of my position as an 'outsider', as a post-colonial representative of unjust global relationships, whom they tolerated as a fact of life, and collaborated with only whilst my attitude warranted it.

Whilst appreciation of this perspective was what brought me to India, continued exposure complicated the process of refining the research focus, which was questioned



throughout consultations. Most felt that I would not be able to find 'good' and gender-sensitive government elementary teachers. A few were confident that I could find good government teachers, but they felt unable to comment on their gender-awareness. Some questioned why I was focussing on gender at all, suggesting that as the general picture was so complicated, that it deserved 'full' attention 'without a gender angle'. Still others thought I should focus on teachers' classroom behaviour in one subject, and not explore their perceptions or attitudes. Some, who had been highly involved in gender initiatives, were convinced that I would only find teachers who worked for gender justice in NGO schools.

As the geographical areas of Eklavya's programmes contributed to my choice of fieldwork site, I shared the proposal and plans with them in August 2000, requesting both support and collaboration, both of which were assured in February 2001. Having decided the broad parameters, I needed support from the official Madhya Pradesh State educational machinery. I wrote to the RGSM Mission Director, outlining the study, then met her and received both her support and a commitment to request that of Nakuur officials.

Thereafter, my permission to research in Nakuur lay with senior district officials, and their support was dependent on the extent to which I did nothing to jeopardise their positions. Most positioned me as an informant, someone from whom the real picture should be hidden, as an issue of local pride as well as job security. The district was in a state of flux, SSA was in its early stages and officials were coming to terms with new and complex demands, whilst the infrastructure, human resources, capacities and institutional arrangements were inadequate. It was not a good time, from their perspective, for a foreign researcher to be observing. On more than three occasions, when officials (informed by teachers) felt I may be seeing 'too much', the justification for my stay in Nakuur was questioned, and preparations made to complain to Bhopal RGSM. On each occasion, a less senior, but longer-serving official calmed the situation and averted the complaints, which could have terminated the fieldwork. During these times, research activity became much less obvious, and all contentious subjects were avoided.

The process of obtaining the research visa was complicated, and took me seven months to obtain (See Appendix 11, Paragraph 2 for a summary of this process). Thereafter, I had to take my passport and visa to the police if I remained in a new place for longer than 2 weeks.

Language was among the most significant factors affecting interactions, especially concerning my need to work with a field assistant. Considerable time had to be invested in explaining, discussing and building research capacity. The rapid turnover in the first three months was frustrating, but the situation improved with the support of Mukesh, and later Nikhil, as both had time to reflect on the study, my perspectives and the complexities and ethics of conducting such research.

As I was so reliant on my assistants, their character, attitudes and conduct became as scrutinised as mine. Whilst I was always complexly positioned, I was an outsider, so allowed to make 'cultural' mistakes; but this latitude did not extend to my assistants: they were of the same cultural, social and gender orders and they were 'young'. This made the exploration of sensitive areas difficult. I therefore broached sensitive issues alone with teachers. The reciprocal feel of such interactions more than compensated for the lack of linguistic sophistication.

Another significant issue was the fact that Muskesh and Nikhil were men, middle class and 'general' caste. This obviously had many ramifications, but as I was unable to find women who could work with me, I had to make the best of available solutions. On balance, I believe the study gained more from the dedicated support of these two men, than it lost in them 'not being' women. Whilst the fact of them being men imposed some restrictions on what could be discussed, the study was not highly sensitive, and the fact that some issues could not be discussed did not detract from the central research processes or findings. In fact, these two assistants' open-mindedness, desire to interact as I would and their determination to do their best overcame many potential limitations.

Given the complexities in the conducting and translation of interviews, the final data was not what it might have been had everything been in English. The finished products, however, although not direct transcriptions, were close approximations that tallied with the fieldnotes taken during actual interviews.

#### 4.4.2 Gathering background data

My search for contextualising educational background data resulted in numerous visits to three education offices, absorbing at least 30 working days. I never obtained the data, but the process provided the opportunity to spend hours and hours, almost invisibly, in district offices. During these times, nobody took much notice of me, carrying on with daily work and interactions, sometimes chatting with me between tasks. From this, I learnt just how busy and taxed officials were, how inadequately prepared they (and schooling/teacher infrastructure) were for SSA challenges, and just how driven they were by the need to collect and present positive data to Bhopal.

It was difficult to obtain accurate population and catchment area data, and school statistics had to be viewed cautiously. All schools had enrolment data disaggregated by social group, but for Vidya, there was a great discrepancy between this, and even attendance registers, and regular attendance. It was laborious to check and impossible to be confident about Vidya attendance figures, as registers were not maintained (with totalling) and, in the focus-class, attendance was not taken during class-teacher absence. On the teacher's return, pupils were asked who had attended on which days, and the register filled. This must have been particularly challenging if teachers were away for over a week. Sagar registers were well completed and two monitors had register responsibility during teacher absence.

Age-calculations posed another problem. Families and girls admitted that some were younger, some older, than the age given at registration. Some parents were concerned that the age for enrolment, 6 years, was too late, and they wanted to start earlier. Girls with family support were sometimes given older ages to enable earlier enrolment, making them younger than stated ages; those with least economic and cultural capital tended to be older.

Pupil performance data had to be carefully interpreted. I was aware that cheating and bribery for passes were assumed major problems. Interviews and discussions with pupils, parents, teachers, tuition tutors and officials left me shocked, however, over the extent of these malpractices and of teacher involvement. Although most talked of others' malpractice, one teacher explained the whole process and his (he believed justified) involvement in it. Teachers in both schools were relaxed about the conduct of

quarterly exams to avoid pupil discouragement. Vidya teachers retained this approach to all exams, whilst Sagar teachers were more serious at half yearly and board exams. After exams, with or without teacher assistance, all papers could be 'marked-up' if everyone in the chain agreed, and failed pupils could 'buy' passes, with widely known rates for each level.

Obtaining teacher data was sensitive, as their co-operation was dependent on their knowledge of me, their trust of my intentions and their goodwill. The collection of pupil and family data was not so emotive, but it was difficult, as pupils were often unsure of the answers (including sibling ages and amount of education), whilst some of the income and life-style questions might have been deemed too personal. No families took recognisable offence, however, and most appeared to accept we were not government 'poverty-line assessors', and gave us what seemed believable income approximations.

#### 4.4.3 Complex observations

There were many issues affecting interpretation of lesson observations. One of the most significant was that, given the power of family authority and girls' concern to respond to family expectations in any environment where reports on behaviour/attitudes might reach home. As girls' limited social interaction, and the dominance of hierarchical, non-questioning child-adult relationships, provided minimal experience to inform interactions with teachers, their classroom and school behaviour might have been 'performance'. This is still relevant for the research, as this performance had potentially negative educational consequences. The issue is a crucial one of interpretation. One interpretation renders girls non-agentic 'victims' of gendered socialisation processes; the other renders them strategic agents.

The second significant issue was that individual character and difference were deeply submerged within group identity by whole-class, didactic teaching, with its emphasis on reproduction. Data from observing lessons, interacting with pupils in school, in interviews, and away from school was very different. If teaching and classroom observation were not contextualised with more informal activities, it would have been difficult to gain any sense of individuality, gendered or otherwise. There were no extra-curricula activities, but I interacted with the pupils as much as possible outside school.

The third issue was related to the fact that I was obviously a different foreigner, conducting (what to many appeared) a 'foreign' endeavour. Despite my long presence in the school (and the district and town), I was *always* novel, always an outsider: always 'an event'. I did not fit into the general 'scheme of things' and no one (neither officials, teachers, pupils, nor families) had had experience of an education researcher like me despite the history of Eklavya's involvement). I was more of 'an event' when I took photographs or shot videos, or when pupils or their siblings visited at home and saw the video image on the laptop. The fact that I sometimes covered for absent teachers, however, and even sometimes taught, made me stand out less and made me more useful. This activity, therefore, rather than compromising the data, seemed to enhance it: everything was different from what it might have been had I conducted the research in the UK.

#### 4.4.4 Interviews and interactions

Given the different ways in which participants positioned me, the collection of interview data was the most complex of all processes. Phase 1 and 2 interactions with primary (but not middle) teachers were dominated by two dynamics: their positioning of me as an 'inspector' and their sense of professional insecurity and vulnerability to what was presented as undeserved bureaucratic disciplining. Teacher recognition of inadequate performance also made researcher presence awkward. Interactions with middle school teachers were less fraught, as these schools functioned more efficiently, and teachers had less reason to feel self-conscious about their professional practice. Despite this, most teachers were never fully sure of me, and some felt that they had to perform a 'role'. Much of the analysis is therefore of their 'self-presentations', which may, or may not be, how they really feel, think, or would behave in my absence.

The first interviews, conducted with teachers two months into the second phase, were stopped due to the difficulties caused by the early turnover of field assistants. By the last month of fieldwork, my Hindi and understanding had improved and I spent hours debating content and process with Nikhil before personalising each interview. As interviews were informed by months of observation, there was much to discuss and they were engaged. The hours in preparation were well spent, as the last month of teacher interviews transformed the depth and integrity of the data.

Given their subdued ‘corporate’ self-presentations in class, I assumed that girls, especially adolescent ones, would find it difficult to be interviewed by a young man. This was regularly not so; most of the pupils appeared to relish the opportunity to speak and be listened to. Some of the more introverted pupils, not just girls, were monosyllabic, but none appeared too shy. Although all early interviews were dominated by pupil desire to guess, and provide, ‘ideal’ answers, Standard 5 pupils were generally more ready to speak openly than those of Standard 8. Within this dynamic most boys were more forthcoming than girls, and interviews with boys often provided information that could prompt girls into more engaged discussions. (This information needed careful assessment, however, given the sources’ fondness for ‘rumour and intrigue’).

All pupil interviews were enhanced by the length and positivity of our relationships, by the fact that Mukesh and I had been present in the two schools, and interacted, in school and outside, with pupils of the two focus-classes for over 10 months prior to interviews. The power dynamic threaded through all pupil interactions changed as the fieldwork progressed, as it became clear that no information was ever divulged and as my Hindi improved. Ultimately, however, none of the pupils had known me for long enough to be confident about ‘unregulated’ disclosure. Adolescent girls were especially vulnerable, as the consequences of admitting thoughts/aspirations oppositional to home and school could be life changing. Data from pupil interviews was also best viewed as indicative of how pupils chose to *re-present* themselves.

The timing of, and activity preceding, family interviews also had a positive affect. Families had heard about our presence and school activities for almost two years before the interviews, and we were warmly welcomed as ‘people interested in improving their children’s education’. Many family members, and even neighbours, were excited about the visits and keen to contribute. We tried to limit contributions to pupils’ parents, or immediate families, to avoid causing confusion in the translation of tapes. As with all interviews, I requested reaction to patterns and performance: the depth of my knowledge about children surprised parents, and encouraged them to engage. Some expressed gratitude for visiting, telling them about their children’s performance and problems, and asking for and listening to their perspectives.

I had hoped to interview mothers alone, as they might have felt silenced by the presence of husbands or in-laws. It was, however, logistically impossible to do so whenever other family members were at home: the disrespect that would have been caused by attempted exclusion would have been counter-productive. Given this reality, it was important, in analysis, to be sensitive: to not only distinguish between male and female perspectives, but also to how individual's re-presentations may have been affected by the presence of others, and the relations connecting those present.

#### 4.4.5 Analysis, validity and triangulation

Although the intersection of issues of positioning, performance, and participants' knowledge of my perspectives made the sensitive triangulation of all data sets one of the most important elements of the study, two features encouraged many participants to be more frank during interviews and more relaxed during observations. The first was the duration of the study, especially the amount of time spent with schools and classes. The second was participants' awareness of the broad gaze and reflection involved in the study, and awareness that arose from their own observations, but significantly from the content of the interviews. These issues of validity are extremely influential for the shaping of the thesis and the tone of the *re*-presentations in the following chapters: the deepest analysis and *re*-presentation focuses on participants for whom I had the most triangulated data.

Some sensitive issues/topics emerged from interviews, and themes from observations, which were interesting, but not central to the research questions. As they were not explored from all angles, and as their discussion in the thesis might have negative affects, I do not address them in depth. On a personal level, these issues included pupils talking about romantic feelings and relationships, teachers' acknowledgement of or engagement with pupils' interest in relationships, or anyone talking intimately of relation problems associated with co-educational schools. On a professional level, they included accounts of bribery and corruption, professional malpractice and tense relationships between different government and civil society groups. (For this reason, the discussion on professional regimes in Chapter 6 draws most deeply on ethnographic data, informed by my knowledge of all interview responses).

Returning to the tabular presentation of teachers, I had minimal interaction with six of the eight men in the first column, and six of the eight women in the second. The dynamic with these six women was complex. All welcomed casual interaction and banter during school time, identified with the gender focus of the study and liked to chat about gendered life experiences. Professionally, however, they resisted anything that resembled formal data collection. Data pertaining to the six (least-involved) men is thus largely observational, whilst that pertaining to the six women is derived from observations and numerous casual conversations. I cannot, therefore present fully triangulated analyses of the gender attitudes of these 12 teachers, or their presentation of reasons for any practice.

There was one Sagar teacher, Seema, who was keen to be involved in the research but found the observations (and interviews, to a lesser extent) challenging. She admitted this, assured me that she did not want to feel nervous, but that she was unable to stop herself. This anxiety affected all teaching interactions and the interviews, so I use data associated with her and her teaching as contextualising background, and do not present a comprehensive analysis of her attitudes and practice in Chapter 8, even though she taught Social Studies to the focus-class.

Vidya staff felt uncomfortable with questions about (mal) practice, and because such questions tended to prompt criticism of colleagues. As I neither wanted to encourage dissatisfaction and divisions, nor upset 'gatekeepers', I did not research Vidya staff relationships deeply.

While no interviews were designed to collect information about teachers, much was offered: by other teachers, pupils and families, and it often contradicted teachers' self-representations. Some, however, actually contested negative images I had been constructing of two teachers, thereby stress how important it was to view the fieldwork as a 'snapshot' in time, and to strive to understand the processes that had led to contemporary practice.

Early triangulation of all Cohort 2 quantitative data (pertaining to families and pupils) suggested correlations between academic success and family socio-economic position; family education; social group; pupils' gender; number of siblings, and position within sibling order. Given the small sample size, none of these variables was consistently



correlated<sup>44</sup>. The one variable with the greatest positive impact was ‘consistent and determined family support for schooling and academic success’. Once the level of family support was assessed (through triangulation of all data from all sources - chiefly girls and families’ accounts and educational investment practices) it did not correlate significantly with any other variable. The key question for ethnographic exploration in Phase 3, became, therefore, ‘What, apart from these quantifiable variables, enhanced family support for girls schooling and academic success?’

Finally, there were major changes in both schools between Phase 2 and 3, which had a significant impact on school atmosphere and teaching/learning. In Phase 2, both schools had retiring head-teachers, whilst classroom teachers were assigned ‘acting head-teacher’ duties the following year, with no training or amendment to status, remuneration or mandate. SSA also affected both schools: in Phases 1 and 2, activity remained largely unnoticeable at school level. By the third phase, there was still little obvious school-level impact at Vidya, but data-collection demands had increased significantly, and the Standard 5 focus-class teacher bore the brunt of these tasks, taking him away from teaching responsibilities. Between Phases 2 and 3, Sagar had become a JSK, a nodal point co-ordinating cluster schools, data collection and management of women’s literacy classes and mobile/local library schemes. Whilst infrastructure, and materials were improved, demands on teacher time multiplied with no extra staff. The other significant change was curricular. In Phase 2, Sagar followed state syllabi in four subjects, and Eklavya syllabi in Science and Social Science. By Phase 3, however, Eklavya programmes had been closed and state textbooks re-instated. In both focus-classes, positive and optimistic atmospheres existing in Phase 2 were followed by greater pessimism in Phase 3. All data analysis had to be deeply informed by awareness of these changes.

#### 4.4.6 Re-presentation

There were many complexities and issues of re-presentation of the research. Some of the challenges of representation are discussed in Section 3 ‘Re-presentation’, as the discussion there builds on this information.

---

<sup>44</sup> Academic success may be correlated with socio-economic position and gender in a larger sample including both government and private schools. As the average family income of girls was greater than that of boys in both Cohort 3 focus-classes, boys’ socio-economic disadvantages may have cancelled out girls gendered ones.

In addition to these issues, there was a major one of comparability. Within economic comparisons, direct comparison could not be made between the families of the two classes, as Vidya was urban and primary, and Sagar peri-urban/rural and middle. A defensible analysis of patterns in aspiration, investment and persistence would require work either in Vidya and the middle school to which the majority of Vidya girls progressed, or in Sagar Primary School, followed by Sagar Middle School. The higher educational aspirations and investments of urban over rural families was complicated by cost of living differences (urban poverty-line families had less 'purchasing power' than rural counterparts) and by features of village life which made the fulfilment of daily needs less challenging for the most poor. One way of presenting this difference would have been to adjust all the Sagar/rural income groups up a level, so all 'A' families would have become 'B', and so on. Although this re-presentation would have better illustrated the greater affluence of the Sagar families within each category, I have left the figures unadjusted. In all discussions of economic condition, it must be remembered that Sagar families were 'less poor/more affluent' than Vidya families of the same group.

In addition to the reasons explored in the preceding section, teacher 'categories of practice' are problematic as the 'disengaged' and 'constrained' teachers were neither 'disengaged' nor 'constrained' individuals. (Furthermore, some of the 'engaged' teachers did not appear as reflective, or as interested in wider issues of justice, as some of those in the 'disengaged' and 'constrained' groups). Casual conversations, interactions and interviews with teachers, shared experience of training, and teachers' management of family and everyday affairs showed the majority to be highly competent and caring. Nearly all were educated to graduate level or its equivalent, and many had one or more post-graduate qualifications. Those whose practice was marked by corporal punishment and/or apparent lack of concern did not appear uncaring in non-school settings, and all teachers with pre-pubescent children appeared loving and indulgent towards them. Many had children or younger relatives excelling at various levels of the educational hierarchy (in private institutions at the school level). Yet, they appeared to switch from reflective individuals to 'automatons' in relation to their professional lives and practices. The categories, therefore, relate uniquely to observed engagement with classroom and teaching-learning processes over the 13 months of the fieldwork.

The classification of some families as ‘undermined’ and ‘indifferent’, and some girls as ‘undermined’ or ‘resistant’ can also appear judgemental and absolutist. Many girls and families were very frank during interviews, and families often requested that their feelings and reflections be communicated to teachers and policy-makers. I *think*, rather than taking offence, these families would recognise the processes and groupings, as they see their aspirations as framed by government provision.

Finally, the breadth of the exploration led to a vast amount of data, all of which was processed and analysed. In responding to the research questions, I sought to achieve a balance between inclusion of all central themes and the degree of substantiation of each one. I was often not, however, able to fully exploit much of the rich interview data.

#### 4.5 Conclusions and connections

This chapter has outlined the research and the complexly related ethical, methodological and practical challenges. The research had to be sensitive to silencings; to the difficulty of researching an area often assumed to be a ‘non-issue’; to how individuals perform different identities in different contexts, and how these performances are framed by institutional and gender regimes; to the differences in respondents’ reporting of attitudes and practices and what they believed and did; to how autobiographical narratives and accounts are always subjective reconstructions and to the many ways in which I might be positioned by participants, and how this could influence the study. In addition, my position as a an ‘outsider’, a British woman ‘adopted’ into a local family, with limited Hindi competence and working with a male field assistant magnified the need for sensitivity and reflectivity.

The following six chapters present my response to the challenge of analytically representing the study, starting with Chapter 5, which describes the district setting and schooling regimes; introduces the focus-schools, and profiles the teachers, pupils and families involved in the study.

## Chapter 5      Setting, educational regimes and sample

This chapter introduces the district, town and village setting of the research. I start with a brief outline of structural and socio-economic features then describe recent educational reform and the work of Eklavya. After discussing the difficulty of reaching quantitative assessments of schooling, I focus on local educational regimes, illustrating the complex relationships between inadequate, inequitable provision and classed aspirations and investments. I describe the two schools, their physical and human environments and broad routines, providing a general background to contextualise subsequent chapters and discuss. I end by introducing the 24 focus-school teachers and providing an overview of Cohort 3 girls and families. Teacher, family and girls' categories (as introduced in Chapter 4) are used as an heuristic device to structure these introductions, and the categories are addressed in depth in relevant chapters<sup>45</sup>.

### 5.1      Structural features and socio-economic profile

This section provides a brief overview of the structural features and socio-economic profile of the district, town and village. Maps/plans in Appendix 12 show India, Madhya Pradesh, Nakuur town, the route to Sagar and Sagar village. A deeper description of the town is included in Appendix 13.

Nakuur District, virtually in the centre of India is located on national rail routes from Mumbai to the north and east, and crossed by two state highways. In 2001, the district population of 474,174 was over 75% rural, predominantly Hindu, with a small percentage of Muslims, and considerably fewer Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and Christians (Prabha kar Bansod Director of Census Operations, 2001). In 2001, Adivasis and Dalits comprised 44.1% of the population, 25.7% and 18.4% respectively, OBCs 34.3% and 'Others' 21.6% (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a). (See Appendix 15, Table 1 for a comparison of national, state and district populations by social group). The 2001

---

<sup>45</sup> Chapter 7 for families, Chapter 8 for teachers and Chapter 10 for girls.

population of Nakuur town was 64,426 (Prabhakar Bansod Director of Census Operations, 2001). Administrative and political organisation was based on models developed during colonial times. Since 1994, Nakuur's MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) had been a BJP candidate, a cause of district-state tension due to the State Congress majority from 1993 to 2003.

Religion was a very prominent feature of the socio-cultural landscape, with considerable public and private religious observance, in stark contrast to cosmopolitan cities. The combination of religion's high profile and the high number of Indian religions meant that there were many religious festivals (entailing public holidays) throughout the year: Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Jain and Buddhist.

Nakuur town had a strong symbiotic relationship with the many surrounding villages (including Sagar) and neighbouring cities. The town, resourced by trading cities, provided modern merchandise and facilities (with some light industry) whilst surrounding lands and villages provided crops, vegetables and dairy produce. Motorcycles, buses, lorries and bicycles dominated constant traffic between town and villages and cars were rare. The poor condition of the roads outside town discouraged cycle or motor-rickshaws and made cycling, walking and driving treacherous, as vehicles, often at high speeds, navigated potholes.

Sagar village was similar to many villages outlying the town (See maps in Appendix 12 and school location in section 3). For administrative and statistical purposes, it was linked with Amba, a neighbouring settlement on the road to Nakuur. Panchayat survey and voter list data from 2002 listed 385 homes in the two settlements, with 984 adults and 685 children between the ages of 6 and 14 years. Of these children, 100 were Adivasi, 243 Dalit (mostly living in Amba), 272 were OBC and 70 were 'Others'. Sagar was an agricultural village, with some land owned by Nakuur residents but the majority owned and farmed by village families, predominantly from the Gujar jati of the OBC group.

The physical infrastructure of district, towns and villages was indicative of considerable social disparity, from extreme poverty among migrant and slum communities to marked affluence among a few. Nakuur's prosperity had been facilitated from Mughal times by

the fertility of the plains and was cemented during colonial times by its establishment as a railway nodal point. Historically, caste Hindus and OBCs had been the primary beneficiaries of agricultural prosperity, and contemporary social hierarchies reflected historical ones. Improvements in educational, employment and economic status were enabling some diversification from traditional caste occupations (mostly in urban areas), and although this was paralleled by a reduction in overt caste-based discrimination, caste-awareness/sensitivity was significant. (A deeper description of town and village is provided in Appendix 13).

One of the greatest markers of social division was the nature of medical care and educational provision on which families could draw. Government arrangements for primary health and education were deemed so inadequate that no family who could afford to avoid them did otherwise. Health alternatives were not cheap, but as health knowledge was so basic, considerable amounts were invested in doctors who repeatedly prescribed expensive drugs and rarely followed cases through to resolution. (Friendships and the experiences of living alongside women, sharing dietary and sanitary arrangements exposed me to the challenges they had to face, the low levels of female health, and the high levels of malnutrition, gynaecological and uniquely female illnesses). Ill health was so significant it affected most aspects of female existence, apparently undermining prospects for the achievement of any gender targets.

The notion and application of the term class is highly contested in India, but two strong patterns were evident: the boundaries of class groupings were very flexible, making it difficult to assess class position, and categorisation differed according to rural/provincial/cosmopolitan location. I was unable to obtain comparable income statistics for the Nakuur population, but there appeared to be five 'tiers' in the economic hierarchy: (i) the destitute, surviving on incomes far below the poverty-line; (ii) the poor, mostly working as daily-wage labourers, living near the poverty-line (42% of the state population in 1991<sup>46</sup>); (iii) a lower middle class, comprised of those who neither laboured nor hailed from established professional families; (iv) the middle class, who were from established professional families, with moderate inherited wealth and current incomes, and (v) an upper middle class layer, generally business families, or Brahmin

---

<sup>46</sup> NCAER data indicates that in 1991, 42% of the Madhya Pradesh state population was on or below the poverty line of Rs.1,000 per month (Rs.12,000 per year), whilst 69% of the rural population earned less than Rs.1,666 per month (Rs.20,000 per year) (Shariff, 2002:87,113,146). This data also states that 38% of the state population were Dalit or Adivasi (Shariff, 2002:90) and that there was a high correlation between these groups and landlessness and poverty.

families who had entered business rather than the professions. There may have been an upper-class minority, but given the frequently articulated resentment of small-town life, upper class families may have resisted living in Nakuur.

## 5.2 Educational reform and schooling regimes

Having provided a broad overview of the district setting, this section describes the educational environment: recent educational interventions, the work of Eklavya and the complex intersection of inadequate provision and classed schooling aspirations. Ethnographic insights are used to frame the discussion on middle-class aspirations and practices in this chapter, whilst Chapter 7 focuses on those of Vidya and Sagar families.

### 5.2.1 Educational interventions

As Nakuur had not been included in DPEP, it had not, by 2001, shared in the significant education reforms experienced by 271 other Indian districts since 1993 (Joint Review Mission, 2001:3). Although many commentaries are ambivalent about pedagogic improvements resulting from DPEP, it has brought many improvements, one being a raised profile of primary education, another a considerable enhancement in capacity for its provision and management. As Nakuur officials had neither shared in these processes, nor in enhanced provision, physical or institutional infrastructure, the profile of primary schooling and bureaucratic capacity were underdeveloped. The formulation of state plans to incorporate all districts into SSA began in 1999, and by 2000 the Nakuur team had been constituted and tasked with preparing the district SSA Project Proposal, completed in 2001. During the fieldwork period (April 2001-April 2003), the district remained in the 'environment building' phase.

The *Nakuur SSA Project Proposal* (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2001) documents the completion of the following activities prior to May 2001: the establishment of District and Block Project Offices and Resource Centres; Cluster Resource Centres (JSKs) in nodal schools; Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) in all elementary schools; the training of district, block and cluster level Resource Persons; surveys of child populations and numbers enrolled (LSA-II) between July and September 2000; and the establishment of Education Councils (Shiksha Panchayats) for each school. A diagnostic study was conducted (by 20 middle school teachers) analysing curriculum,

textbooks and teacher training needs and producing strategies for curricula reform, textbook revision and teacher training, the latter to cover evaluation, methodology, the new curriculum, tips for 'hard spots' and English (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2001). There was, however, little evidence or knowledge of these activities beyond district or block offices.

Although the district had not experienced major government educational interventions prior to 2000, it had been associated with Eklavya for twenty years. All middle schools followed the HSTP curriculum from 1981; 8 schools adopted the Social Science programme from 1986 and Prashika was initiated in 3 schools in 1987, expanding to 25 by 1989 (Agnihotri et al., 1994; Eklavya, 1999). Prashika ran until 1999, when primary schools reverted to the state curriculum. HSTP and Social Science programmes ran until the beginning of the 2002-2003 academic year. With the closure of these programmes, Eklavya continued supporting interested teachers and their office, resource centre and 'appropriate technology' teaching-aids factory continued, with a reduced staff.

### 5.2.2 Classed educational aspirations and inequitable provision<sup>47</sup>

Urban, middle-class families of Nakuur town appeared 'marked' by their appreciation of the importance of girls' education, and their enrolment of daughters in private schools, despite the fact that by 1999, only 12% of Indian women and 22% of men had completed 12 years of education (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000: Key Findings). Parents seemed to assume that daughters would be educated to graduation, even post-graduation, if it was feasible in the immediate environment. Although the majority of families were reluctant for daughters to leave the town for their education, even this trend was changing. A second striking aspect was expected outcome: they wanted their daughters to do well, as something that had worth in itself, an investment for their daughters' self-satisfaction. There was no articulated link with employment and although marriage consideration may have been foundational, the instrumental purpose of education was not stressed. This phenomenon may have been related to parental education: many parents in the new middle class families of Nakuur had limited education. Many mothers only had up to three years of schooling, some fathers only

---

<sup>47</sup> Chapter 7 addresses educational aspirations of the focus-class families.



five. They wanted something so different for all their children, and seemed prepared to strive for their goals irrespective of what their children might do with their qualifications.

There was a burgeoning of private schooling and tuition in Nakuur. Two English-medium church schools and a Hindi-medium Saraswati Shishu Mandir were the most prestigious. Provision associated with Christian organisations was often deemed superior to alternatives: new schools, some with less than 12 pupils, adopted English/Christian names to attract enrolments. Average town primary tuition charges, where up to 30 pupils spent one to two hours daily with one teacher, were Rs.50 per month<sup>48</sup>: the same as the fees for the cheapest private schools. Most families wanted children to attend school and tuition, so none who could afford the cheapest private school *and* tuition sent their children to government schools. Where a choice had to be made, most families sent son/s to private schools and daughter/s to government ones. Although disregard for government provision reduced with progression up the schooling 'ladder', no participant expressed a positive opinion of contemporary government provision, including higher education.

I was unable to arrive at substantiated quantitative analyses of district schooling provision between 2001 and 2003. There was no data on private schools, and most government data proved generally non-comparable and unreliable.

Although girls' primary enrolment had been declared universal in Madhya Pradesh in 1998, numerous experiences questioned the validity of this confidence, even in enrolment terms. There was visual evidence of a large number of out-of-school children, most notably those with homes, appearance and labour/begging activities suggesting acute financial hardship, and/or migrant/travelling lifestyles. These children may have been dropouts, and major discrepancies between enrolment, attendance and progression at Vidya suggested the possible enormity of this problem. But they may also have never enrolled. Vidya boys (whose families had lower average incomes than those of the girls in their class) talked of never-enrolled school-age sisters, and pupils from both schools reported never-enrolled neighbourhood children.

---

<sup>48</sup> Under £1 in 2003 prices (Rs.74 - £1).

Although official data does not reward deep scrutiny, its demonstration of inequality is undeniable. Very basic data, presented in Appendix 15, Table 2 indicates the greater urban over rural educational opportunities, especially with progression up the educational ladder. Nakuur town population was a third of that of Nakuur block, and whilst it had no EGS schools it had most Higher Secondary schools and all colleges. The fact that there were no town EGS schools was not indicative of sufficient primary provision. Although policy stipulates that children of every qualifying habitation should be provided with a primary school within one kilometre and a middle school within three kilometres (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002d:804), demand outstripped supply at primary and middle levels. There was acute over-crowding in the only girls' middle school and no provision for the new and sprawling north-eastern expansion: children as young as 6 had to walk over 3 kilometres both to and from school.

This demand trend did not appear to be matched among rural populations with comparative economic resources, however, and the smaller the village and the further from major towns or villages, the lower the enrolment of girls at every level. There was anecdotal evidence to support a 'common sense' correlation between educational aspiration/investment and distance from urban centres, although statistical data has only two categories: urban or rural - none includes distance from towns. Sagar was a peri-urban village with a middle school, only 5 kilometres from Nakuur and Higher Secondary provision, so Sagar families' educational aspirations and investments cannot be assumed to be representative of those of villages, especially ones without a middle school, further from urban centres.

Appendix 15, Table 3 presents official data on district child populations and numbers enrolled in all provision: state; private and non-affiliated. Various characteristics of this data make it impossible to calculate the net enrolment ratio (how many of the *appropriate* ages were enrolled), one of the most significant being the vast numbers of overage pupils enrolled at all levels. The fact that the data does not show the percentages of each social group enrolled in government and private education masks social inequalities: if it were to be disaggregated in this way, the data would demonstrate the higher percentages of OBCs and *some* 'Others' - from 'General Caste' Hindu, Christian and Jain families - in private provision, and the greater numbers of Adivasis, Dalits and poorer Muslim 'Others' constituting the bulk of state enrolment or not attending

school. The data does, however, highlight patterns replicated elsewhere. The most significant being the inferior numbers of girls compared to boys, both in terms of *existence* and enrolment; the 'over-enrolment' of OBC children in both levels (resulting from high enrolment and over-age pupils); the significant, almost non-gendered under-enrolment of pupils classified as 'Others' at the middle stage (see the previous explanation); the poor enrolment of Adivasis at the primary level magnified at the middle level and gains made by Dalits at primary level reversed at the middle level. Of the district child population between 11 and 14 years, only 34% of Dalit girls (and 43% of boys) and 20% of Adivasi girls (and 27% of boys) were enrolled in middle schools (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a).

### Section reflections

There was a broad repetition of the pattern of increasing economic and cultural capital and increasing investment in education in general and girls' education in particular. Generally, the higher a family's 'per capita' resources<sup>49</sup>, and the closer they lived to urban centres, the more they educated their daughters, and the later they arranged their marriages. There was a correlation between family income, caste background and education: Christian families or 'general caste' Hindus dominated the educated and affluent minority in towns and villages. (This group has been joined by certain OBC jatis in recent years). In villages with small 'general caste' populations, farming OBC families dominate the affluent, increasingly educated minority. The most affluent urban families sent their children to private schools and educated their daughters to graduation within the town. The more affluent rural families invested in eight, ten or twelve years of school education, either in their own villages, or in towns or larger villages with post-primary provision. Children from poorer families, which still comprised more Adivasis, Dalits and Muslims than Hindu 'Others', had inadequate access to 'adequate' schooling, and these problems of provision grew worse the further they lived from urban areas.

## 5.3 The schools

Having sketched the broad district, town and village background, this section provides more detail on the two schools and explores the complexities involved in reaching any

---

<sup>49</sup> 'Per capita resources' are total family financial resources, once all outgoings have been met, divided by the number of family members.

informed assessment of school enrolment related to relevant child population within each catchment area

### 5.3.1 Vidya Primary School

Next to the bus station, on one of the town's busiest routes to the railway station, Vidya Primary School may have once inspired civic pride: it was a large, well-finished 'pukka'<sup>50</sup> building with a deep roof and wide veranda, set in a fenced fruit orchard with benches, taps for drinking water and toilets. By 2001, the infrastructure had crumbled to the extent that repair would be costly. Despite SSA structural improvement plans in 2002, no changes were evident by April 2003, beyond the installation of a hand pump. The school faced middle class homes, a budget hotel and scrubland where itinerant basket weavers (none of whose children attended any school) set up tents for months annually; was flanked to the left by poor and temporary housing (including a marginalised Sikh metal-working community); and to the right by the bus station.

Vidya operated a double-shift system: from 7 am until midday and from midday to 5 pm, with seven classes and seven teachers per shift, but only six classrooms. (See Appendix 12, for maps/plans showing school locations, and Appendix 16 for summaries of both school environments). There were 720 pupils on roll during Phase 3: 453 boys and only 267 girls. Few pupils wore uniform, most came in tattered clothes, sometimes with broken zips or buttons substituted by safety pins, all inadequate for cold winters and the majority had broken, repaired or ill-fitting footwear. Many faces, especially of the younger children, were ingrained with dirt and hair was often tangled, sometimes matted. Very few were overweight, in contrast with many 'rounded' pupils attending nearby private schools, but there was also no evidence of the extreme malnutrition witnessed in remote villages. As a group, pupils appeared 'un-school socialised': many were curious, impulsive and uninhibited, including in their approach to teachers (until they learnt otherwise). Playtimes resembled those of many British primary schools, with children engaged in energetic play, and boys and girls mixing. Parents came irregularly, but they were clearly distinguishable from teachers by their reticence, and the evidence of hard physical labour/ exposure in their appearance and dress.

---

<sup>50</sup> Permanent, robust

The school had six large classrooms and two sizeable offices, all originally fitted with strong doors, window bars, shutters and inset cupboards with locks. Rooms were paved with slate, had old electric fittings and fans, but all had fallen into neglect. Tiles had slipped and the roof leaked during the rains, paintwork was shabby and dirty; there was no electricity supply and windows bars, shutters, doors and cupboards were broken, rendering the school vulnerable to theft, even of wall displays, seating mats, textbooks and registers. Windows with broken shutters linked three classrooms, so each disturbed the other, especially in teacher absence, which was regular. A few wobbly tables, the odd teacher chair and a tin chest aside, classrooms were empty. Seating mats were inadequate: no class had more than 30% of requirements and some floor slates were missing or broken, making sitting in 'teacher assigned places' sometimes uncomfortable. In cold weather, shabbily dressed children (many of whom were hungry) had to sit cross-legged for hours on cold slabs. A few children brought sacks to sit on, but the effort to avoid holes and sit on mats caused crowding (and arguments, sometimes fights, and punishment) whilst half of available space remained empty<sup>51</sup>.

Outside, trees, benches, fencing and gate had long gone, leaving empty posts. The taps and toilets remained, but were broken and hazardous. A hand pump installed in 2002 was so dangerous that three children were hospitalised after the springing handle lacerated their jaws. Lorry-loads of cut flints for road re-surfacing, left piled on the playground for months, were repeatedly scattered, causing further hazard. On one occasion when pupils stood in the sun waiting for assembly, a girl fainted, fell on a flint and gashed her head so badly that she had to go to hospital: but nothing was done about the stones. Animals grazed on the few tufts of dried grass, and groups of boys sat on the veranda or played in the grounds after school hours. Although most of the playground was behind the school it was only used by boys' 'escaping' via rear windows, scaling the window-ledges above stagnant, mosquito-infested water, or by bus-passengers using it as a latrine. Having no toilet facilities, girls and female teachers had to go home (which was over 3 km for some pupils) or to neighbouring homes – something unwelcome to everyone concerned.

---

<sup>51</sup> Some pupils' homes were very poor, but no conditions in the 100 homes visited were as poor as these.

The curriculum followed state guidelines (Hindi, Maths and EVS, with English at Standard 5). Textbooks, which were highly abstract<sup>52</sup>, provided the framework for daily activities and exams: teachers worked through them from start to finish. Nothing else was taught, nothing creative, and nothing related to health or personal development, both of which seemed particularly necessary (there were many emotional outbursts and actual fights, the latter leading to harsh beatings, but not to advice or counselling). Impromptu assemblies were held for Republic and Independence days, which pupils obviously enjoyed, but pupils prepared their performances or recitals alone. Some teachers organised one outing to the cinema, and a wandering magician, a boy of about 14, entertained the whole school on an equally impromptu event. These gatherings aside, there were no extra-curricular activities.

The school provided infrastructure, teachers, blackboards (which were old, uneven and impossible to see from most angles) and chalk. There were no materials, equipment, books, teaching aids, playground furniture, games/sports equipment and no first aid box. Pupils came (some walking over 3 kilometres) with bags bulging with all text and exercise books, water, food, slates and, some, their own seating mats.

The staff room was small, with a bench, a table, water pot and plastic chairs, with just enough space for the staff of one shift. Given the inadequacy of classroom security, anything portable was stored here. This was not much, however, as, beyond the infrastructure, there was virtually nothing in the school. Two cupboards thus contained seating mats, documents and registers. They appeared to contain no school policies, guidelines or 'Vision Statements', no documents and no curriculum or syllabus guidelines. The walls were almost bare, and although a timetable was displayed, I was told it was out of date, and therefore 'irrelevant' to my study.

It appeared that Vidya pupils only got half of their annual contact-time entitlement<sup>53</sup>. School appeared to be closed on many pretexts, either for the entire day (there were many religious holidays and regular pulse-polio inoculation drives, held at schools) or after break (in Phase 2, after wheat distribution). Both shifts started late, with the morning one starting up to 2 hours late in the cold winter mornings, and tended to end

---

<sup>52</sup> See extracts at [www.elspethpage.freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage.freeuk.com)

<sup>53</sup> This is a generalisation, as it would have taken a separate study to document when the school was and was not functioning. I started to do this, but it consumed too much time and was not central.

early. Time was shaved off the start and end of lessons and teachers were often sitting in the winter sun during lesson times (even though they were visible to the community). Pupil absence was high, especially before and after religious festivals, most notably Holi, Dusshera and Divali (and Ramadan and Id for Muslims). Teachers explained this by reference to family indifference, but the explanation lay more obviously in school indifference.

Pupils reported that many teachers (but most definitely not Ramesh, the acting head-teacher of Phase 3) were lax about the conduct of all exams, including Standard 5 board exams. Some of the more mature and articulate boys agreed that teachers collaborated during exams to ensure that results returned to education offices reflected the school favourably.

The school was in the east of town, on my route from home to Sagar, whether I went via the road and level crossing in the south-east, or crossed the railway at one of many footpaths further east (as I did when I walked). The first option made the journey about 6 kilometres, the second reduced it to 4 kilometres. (I preferred this second route as it took me through neighbourhoods where pupils from both schools lived, and families chatted to me or invited me in). Whatever route I took, I always passed Vidya, so saw whether it was functioning (as could officials, who passed regularly). On many occasions, it appeared deserted, with doors bolted: but sometimes only a few doors were bolted, from the outside, and they were not padlocked.

### 5.3.2 Sagar Middle School

On approaching Sagar from Nakuur, the main route through the village branched left from the highway (See Appendices 11 and 14). The school building, which housed the primary school in the morning, the middle school in the afternoon, was flanked by the village Panchayat to the right, a temple to the left (after a narrow lane), with small houses and yards to the immediate rear. There were 140 pupils on roll during Phase 3, 79 boys and 61 girls, a good ratio by state and district standards. Sagar pupils appeared neither poor nor unhealthy. All were well dressed in fresh uniforms with clean skin and neat hair, and while none of the girls were overweight (a few boys were 'well padded') the majority were less angular than primary girls. Collectively, pupils were disciplined and respectful, and most related to teachers with respect but without fear. To a casual

passer-by, the school appeared to be a comfortable and functioning (if regimented) learning environment. As the school was in a village, on a major thoroughfare next to the Panchayat office, parents passed frequently, and some actually visited the school. It was not necessarily easy to distinguish between teachers and parents: Sagar teachers' dress was understated, one of the teachers was himself from the village and a few village families were more affluent than teachers. (See Appendix 14, Chart 1).

In contrast with the once-grand infrastructure and finish at Vidya, Sagar was, in 2001, small and *katcha*<sup>54</sup>. It changed considerably over the fieldwork, after the school was designated a JSK. In April 2001, it consisted of three 'katcha' classrooms (one subdivided in 2002) and two small storerooms, covering under half the floor area of Vidya<sup>55</sup>. Apart from teacher tables and wooden chairs in two classes, a robust, lockable cupboard for Eklavya Science materials in another, and a wooden wall cabinet in a third, there was no furniture, and plastic chairs were brought in for teachers during lessons. By 2003, three additional, high-security 'pukka' rooms had been built, one fitted with computers and a television, and metal filing cabinets, office furniture and electricity supplied (to the new block). (The rooms were not in full service by the end of the fieldwork, so were used as staffrooms). All classes had blackboards that, although regularly repainted, were uneven and often hard to see. A walled veranda, the length of the building, was used as an extra room whenever necessary, including for assemblies and whole school activities. All windows were barred and doors had strong locks, but security was not as robust as at Vidya, perhaps as risk of forced-entry and theft was reportedly lower. Sagar was a village school, in a residential area, next to the Panchayat building, so benefited from greater community interest and surveillance than some urban schools with wide catchment areas.

The school was fronted by a walled and gated yard, half the size of the building, only just large enough to accommodate assemblies. School was almost deserted during break times, when pupils went home or to the next-door temple, and boys and girls were rarely seen to mix. Both patterns did change in Phase 3, however, with the provision of basic bat and ball/shuttlecock equipment and rotas for their break-time use. More pupils stayed at school, some even came out of school hours, played on the veranda or the small yard and boys and girls played against each other. There was a hand pump,

---

<sup>54</sup> Temporary, basic.

<sup>55</sup> Although adequate for the middle shift, the space was inadequate for the primary one, with 5 classes.



but it was broken, so pupils walked to a pump by the main road. The roof reportedly leaked during July rains at the start of the school year, sometimes resulting in closure. The four classrooms used by the middle school were small, and the walls between them did not reach the ceiling, so all classes disturbed adjoining ones. Ventilation and lighting were inadequate: small windows at back and sides were partially blocked as they opened onto private property. As there was no electricity, the heat became uncomfortable in summer. There were no toilet facilities, and even the urinal in the Panchayat office had no doors, drainage pit or water, making it unappealing for everyone, but particularly unsuitable for girls and women. Female teachers used nearby houses, and girls who lived nearby went home. This lack, despite a request pending for over fifteen years, made things difficult for those from further homes.

Although the school was basic, it was well maintained and teachers demonstrated and encouraged concern for surroundings. During the first and second phases, walls were decorated with teaching aids (under a UNICEF-funded programme). By the third phase, the school had been repainted and 'inspirational phrases' painted on external walls (One read: 'It is by law of nature that all men are equal'). Pupils kept the school tidy, following alternating class-based rotas, and shoes were left outside during lessons. Although classrooms were small, they appeared less cramped than those at Vidya, as adequate seating mats enabled regular spacing: new mats had been provided, which were labelled and stored between sessions.

The curriculum followed state guidelines, with Eklavya Science and Social Science in Phases 1 and 2, reverting to the six state curricula in Phases 3. Eklavya books enabled teacher engagement with the teaching/learning process, but the abstract state textbooks provided the daily framework for all but Rounak's lessons. Teachers had access to state policy and curricular guidelines and engaged quite vociferously in debating educational and pedagogic issues. As teachers were not class-teachers, but subject-specific, Sagar pupils had wider teaching/learning experiences than Vidya ones. Santosh and Rounak took a principled (although difficult) stand against cheating and bribery, but all teachers were relaxed with the quarterly exams, telling pupils the subject areas and some questions beforehand, to boost motivation.

As with Vidya, there were, beside events for major national days, few creative or extra-curricular activities: if they occurred, they were organised by teacher interest, rather than school policy (I was told that they used to be much more frequent). There appeared to be no printed school policies, guidelines or procedures, although this was reportedly being addressed under SSA. The lack of attention to social and health education became particularly marked at this stage: as pupils progressed through adolescence; as girls' experience of sexual harassment increased; and as parents became increasingly concerned about their continued co-education.

In Phases 1 and 2, there was no staffroom, but there were two tiny rooms (one for each shift) which were too small to sit in, but were used to store papers and make tea. After becoming a JSK, the school gained a bigger staffroom, lockable metal cupboards for paperwork and, as it was a JSK, all educational data, maps and analyses were displayed on the walls. All registers were immaculately maintained, and class monitors had register responsibilities during teacher absence. Teachers were much more regular, and the division of the day into subject periods made it more difficult for disengaged teachers to while time away, and redistributed the 'burden' of such teachers across three classes. Two or three of the teachers, however, still managed to slice time off the start and end of each period. Sagar Middle School was closed less often than Vidya, even on religious holidays, which Rounak humorously explained by reference to the 'obviously greater spirituality' of Vidya teachers.

### 5.3.3 Focus-school enrolment: class, gender and caste exclusions

Whilst a comparison of enrolment at Vidya and Sagar, and in the focus-classes might have helped contextualise interpretation of both official district statistics and school-based ethnographic data, even this activity was complex.

I was unable to analyse Vidya enrolment related to relevant child population as Vidya's catchment area was unspecified (pupils came from every part of the town<sup>56</sup> except the west and northwest, and even from Amba) and I could not obtain town statistics disaggregated by social group.

---

<sup>56</sup> All areas marked on Appendix 10, town plan except A and D. Amba is M.

The comparison of enrolment related to relevant child population was less complex with Sagar, as most pupils came from the village and Amba (two kilometres west) and I was able to obtain the numbers of children from 6-11 and 11-14. Appendix 15, Table 5, extracting key data from Table 4, shows Sagar/Amba child (6 to 14) populations and elementary enrolment by social group. When presented in this way (as it often is), it appears as if school enrolment percentages reflect those of appropriate-aged populations.

If the absolute numbers are used, however, and the percentages of pupils not enrolled (from each social group) calculated, as presented in Table 6, a different pattern emerges. The percentage of appropriate-aged children *not* enrolled for Adivasis, Dalits, OBCs and 'Others' are 44%, 29%, 37% and 42% respectively. These figures suggest that the situation is most favourable for Dalits, and dismal for the others. Yet these statistics are for government provision only, and what they fail to highlight is that large percentages of Adivasis children are *not in* school, whilst the majority of those from OBC and 'Other' categories are in private ones. The 'Other' category is also problematic, however, as some groups (mostly notably poor Muslims, especially the girls from these communities), are also not in school. The single clear and undisputable message from these statistics is that more Dalit than Adivasis families are educating their children (a finding replicating wider patterns).

As I could not calculate enrolment as percentages of catchment areas, I focussed on percentages of total enrolment. Appendix 15, Table 7 lays out district enrolment by social group, as absolute numbers and percentages of total enrolment, for boys, girls and both together. Table 8 takes some of this data and shows dropout of pupils between Standard 5 and 8 by social group. Table 9 shows the same type of data as Table 7, but for Vidya and Sagar schools during Phase 3. Appendix 15, Table 10 (replicated below as Table 2) compares key data from Appendix 15, Tables 6 to 9, outlining district, school and class (Phase 3) enrolment by social group, in absolute numbers and as percentages of total enrolment.

**Table 2: District/school enrolment by social group, percentage of total enrolment**

	District 6-11 and Vidya enrolment					District 11-14 and Sagar enrolment				
	ST	SC	OBC	Other	All	ST	SC	OBC	Other	All
District – B and G	23.6	19.2	36.9	20.3	100	7.8	10.5	60.9	20.8	100
Schools – B and G	14.3	26	42.8	17	100	0.7	27.1	54.3	17.9	100
Classes – B and G	8.3	43.3	26.7	21.7	100	0	20	62	18	100
District – girls	9.6	8.3	17.5	8.2	43.7	2.5	3.8	24.8	7.8	38.9
Schools – girls	5.7	10.5	14.2	5.8	36.1	0.7	12.1	22.9	8	43.6
Classes – girls	3.3	20	11.7	6.7	41.7	0	8	28	4	40

Sources: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a), and school registers

This table reveals surprising discrepancies. At 36.1%, Vidya Phase 3 girls' enrolment was 7.5 percentage points below the district average of 43.7%. This figure comprised under-representation of girls from all except Dalits groups. At 43.6%, the Sagar Phase 3 girls' enrolment was 4.7 percentage points above the district average of 38.9%. (These figures are explored in Chapter 8, Section 4 and Chapter 9, Section 1).

Triangulation of Cohort 3, focus-class pupil data supported the correlation between progress up the educational 'ladder' and socio-economic condition, and the pattern of girls' families being less poor than those of boys in their classes. Of the Vidya 39 families whose children had persisted to the end of Standard 5, only one<sup>57</sup> was below the poverty line of Rs.1,000 a month, and three (who appeared abjectly poor and unable to provide any environment for education) were on or just above it. If the 1991 figure of 42% of the state population being below the poverty-line (Shariff, 2002:87,113,146)<sup>58</sup> is used as an approximation for 2001, this might suggest that 42% of the state population (20% if a vast decadal improvement is assumed) may have been unable to finance continued school attendance beyond one or two years due to poverty and allied factors (including caste, type of work, family education and number of offspring). This suggest that families needed to be above the poverty line to persist to Standard 5 with their son's education, and that they may need to earn more to persist this far for daughters.

### Section reflections

This section has outlined two very different school environments, environments that shaped community opinion of the schools and pupils' learning experiences and aspirations. Whilst it is difficult to arrive at a substantiated estimation of the socio-economic positions of pupils enrolled vis-à-vis wider populations, it is clear that the

<sup>57</sup> A widow with a monthly income of Rs 800, finding it hard to persist with her two sons' education, but determined to do so as she would be dependent on their income in the future.

<sup>58</sup> See Section 5.1.

schooling careers of girls of both terminal classes exceeded those of many in their neighbourhoods. (A study into socio-economic background should reveal very different profiles for pupils of Standards 1, 5, 8, 10 and 12)<sup>59</sup>.

## 5.4 Teachers, pupils and difference

The final section of this chapter introduces the teachers, then introduces Cohort 3 pupils' families within a profile of the socio-economic differences between teachers and pupils' families. Although I introduce families according to aspirational group, I discuss these groups in Chapter 7.

### 5.4.1 The 24 teachers

Teachers were introduced in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.2) in a three-column table with the columns representing 'categories of practice': the first being 'disengaged', the second 'constrained' and the third 'engaged'. (This table is reproduced on the bookmark and these categories are discussed in Chapter 8).

The teachers in the first column, apart from Rahul, were of a similar age, had considerable experience and strong personalities. Mohammed, head-teacher during Phases 1 and 2, retired in 2002. He appeared quiet and non-confrontational. Ramesh, who replaced Mohammed as acting head-teacher in 2002, was organised, efficient and a strict disciplinarian. Rakesh, more relaxed and approachable, was deeply reflective and purposefully (good-naturedly) contentious. He was an exception among the men, often displaying concern and respect for the children, and talking about them with affection and sociological reflection during interviews. Raju and Ajit appeared indifferent to my school presence, so I was unable to forge relationships with either one. Rahul, a new teacher, appeared to lack confidence, maintained a low profile, and our interaction was limited to Phase 2, due to his absence throughout Phase 3. Durgesh, head-teacher of Sagar until his retirement in 2002, was quiet and unassuming in school. Shailesh, the only Sagar teacher living in the village, was loud, comic and dramatic. He spent most of

---

<sup>59</sup> This would be a valid and interesting area for further research.

the fieldwork happily engaged in SSA data collection and processing, including LSA-II surveys and plans of the village, all processed by pen, ink and ruler<sup>60</sup>.

All eight women in the second column were Vidya teachers. Sarita, a young Dalit widow, was a para-teacher with 6 years' experience, the others were all established-teachers with an average 20 years' experience each. Apart from Sarita, all appeared self-assured, confident and dissatisfied. Sarita, Minakshi and Uma welcomed me, the remaining five were more cautious about the research. Seven expressed the desire to be more effective teachers, complained of the frustrations of working in the school and appeared concerned about the pupils.

The final group of teachers (in the third column) was diverse, consisting of four men and four women; two para-teachers (Deepak and Seema); four established-teachers (Anu, Mohini, Rounak and Santosh) and two private tuition tutors (Sanni and Lalit). Four were associated with Vidya School, and four with Sagar. Their teaching experience was varied, from four to thirty-two years, with an average of fourteen years. All apart from Sanni were financially secure; all apart from Deepak and Rounak married. Deepak and Seema appeared retiring, lacking in self-confidence, and were reluctant to speak frankly or criticise. Anu also resisted criticising colleagues, but she came across as confident and assured. Mohini was more ready to evaluate many things about school in private, but she never articulated these opinions publicly. In contrast, Rounak was confident, determined, and never afraid to speak her mind against injustice and poor practice, even if it caused offence, which it often did. Santosh, who did not welcome the 'promotion' to acting head-teacher in Phase 3, was quiet, confident and accommodating. Sanni, the Standard 5 tuition tutor, was quiet, diligent and self-conscious about his relative lack of formal qualifications. Lalit was confident, outspoken and successful. He ran a private school and tuition in Sagar, drawing a substantial income. He insisted that he invested much of it back into the communities, however, and that he would support any pupil who showed promise and dedication.

As a group, teacher ages ranged from 25 (two men), then from 30 to 58, and average teaching experience was 17.5 years. Of the twenty-four, five were Eklavya Resource Teachers (RTs), six others had had some involvement, eight were aware but had never

---

<sup>60</sup> Although Shailesh was heavily criticised by Rounak for neglecting his teaching duties, the SSA owes much Sagar data and the village plan to his efforts.

been involved, and four had no knowledge of Eklavya. Of the six focus-class teachers, Santosh and Rounak were RTs, Deepak and Lalit were aware of Eklavya's work but had never been involved and Seema and Sanni had no prior knowledge of Eklavya.

#### 5.4.2 Socio-economic composition of the sample

Research participants reflected the considerable socio-economic diversity of the district. A few officials were from the upper middle class; most officials, some teachers, my host family, field assistants, NGO staff, many friends and some Sagar families were from the 'middle' middle class; other teachers, most Sagar families and a few Vidya ones were from the lower middle class; the majority of Vidya families, a few Sagar ones and the female domestic workers who came to my neighbourhood were from labouring families; a small number of focus-class pupils were very near the poverty line, and one was below it.

The incomes of pupils' families and teachers were very different. The average monthly income of Standard 5 families was Rs.2,383 and that of Standard 8 ones was Rs.3,724. (Appendix 14, Table 4 shows the income-group distribution of focus-class families). When based on calculations of minimum amounts, the 17 established-teacher salaries bridged five income groups, from the sixth (F) to the tenth (J) with a monthly average of Rs.7,245. Calculating maximum amounts, they bridged eight income groups, from the tenth (J) to the seventeenth (Q) with a monthly average of Rs.10,782. (The possible salary range per teacher is presented in Appendix 14, Table 3 and summarised in Table 5). The income of only four (all para-teachers) fell in the bottom five groups (like Vidya girls' families) but these teachers' salaries were, in every case, supplementary to primary family income. The annual incomes of the families of girls in the two focus-classes and the teaching-earned incomes<sup>61</sup> of 21 teachers thus spanned 17 groups. Standard 5 girls' families spanned the first five groups, Standard 8 the first nine, and teachers spanned sixteen, starting from the second group. (See Appendix 14, Chart 1 for Standard 5, Standard 8 and teacher income distribution).

Teachers' and pupils' social group composition was very different. Whilst the enrolment averages of both schools were 26% Adivasi/Dalit, 48% OBC and 17% 'Others', in the teacher sample, four were Dalits, one was Adivasi, five were OBCs and

---

<sup>61</sup> Some teachers had income from non-teaching sources.

fourteen (60%) were ‘Others’. Twenty-two were Hindu, one was Muslim and one was Christian. Seventeen were established-teachers and four (three Dalits and the Christian) were para-teachers, appointed in the last 6 years. Most were from middle class families whose home environments suggested financial security. The sample size was too small and diverse to reflect correlations between social group, sex or marital status and economic position; the homes of an Anu and Seema (one Adivasi, the other Dalit) were amongst the most lavish, but the married women were not necessarily more economically secure than male colleagues. Two teachers appeared less economically secure, but assessment of family wealth was impossible as they were not living at their natal homes. One was Sanni, renting two small rooms with his wife and children. The other was the recently widowed Sarita, who reported neglect by her in-laws and difficulty obtaining her state widow’s pension.

The families of the village Standard 8 pupils were (with a few exceptions) ‘village lower-middle-class’, often with minimal education but significant aspirations for their offspring, especially their sons. Four girls and 6 boys came from Dalit families, 14 girls and 17 boys from OBC and 2 girls and 7 boys were ‘others’: all but one Muslim boy were general caste Hindus. The girls (and social groups) are introduced in Table 3, grouped according to family ‘aspirational category’ (relating to their daughter’s further schooling – discussed in Chapter 7).

**Table 3: Introducing Cohort 3, Standard 8 girls – by family ‘aspirational’ and social groups**

‘Confident’	SG	‘Confident’	SG	‘Undermined’	SG	‘Indifferent’	SG
Saroj Sahu	OBC	Lekha Sutar	OBC	Lajwanti Chaudri	SC	Leela Rehlot	SC
Lajwanti Sahu	OBC	Anamika Khorey	OBC			Damini Sutar	OBC
Jagruti Sahu	OBC	Madhuri Sarvan	SC			Kanchan Banwar	OBC
Chitra Sahu	OBC	Sharmila Khorey	OBC			Bali Singh	G
Pratima Singh	G	Aruna Chhalotrey	OBC				
Kanchan Gourey	SC	Meena Sahu	OBC				
Alka Khorey	OBC	Rakhi Khorey	OBC				
Usha Chhalotrey	OBC						

Nineteen Standard 8 families cultivated their own land, averaging 8 acres. Five fathers and three mothers worked for daily wages. Fathers averaged 6.2 years of education and mothers (of whom 40% were illiterate) 3.3 years. There was considerable atmosphere for education in many of these families, with the exception of the poorest. These were not necessarily Dalit households, however, as families from these communities with



children persisting to Standard 8 were the least poor of their communities. Of 50 pupils, 44 attended private tuition, all with Lalit Varma.

In comparison to Sagar families, most Standard 5 fathers and a third of mothers worked as daily wage labourers. Two girls and three boys came from Adivasi families; 12 girls and 15 boys were Dalit; 7 girls and 12 boys were OBC; and four girls and five boys were 'Others'. The girls (and caste groupings) are introduced in Table 4, following the same representation as in Table 3, above ('S' indicates that the girl has a sister in the class).

**Table 4: Introducing Cohort 3, Standard 5 girls – by family 'aspirational' and social groups**

<b>'Confident'</b>	<b>SG</b>	<b>'Aspirational'</b>	<b>SG</b>	<b>'Undermined'</b>	<b>SG</b>	<b>'Undermined'</b>	<b>SG</b>
Sunanda Prasad (S)	OBC	Sujata Khorey	OBC	Bina Phurvi	ST	Anu Khan	M-OBC
Priya Gehlot	SC	Ananya Kaithwas	SC	Suman Gehlot	SC	Kamini Kalsi	S-OBC
Shobha Gehlot	SC	Ananya Nuikey	SC	Damini Gehlot	SC	Kanchan Kaithwas (S)	SC
Reena Singh	G	Sujata Saini	OBC	Rewa Prasad (S)	OBC	Rani Kaithwas (S)	SC
Aruna Kaithwas	SC			Rashmi Dohar	SC	Sudha Kaithwas (S)	SC
				Parul Kaithwas	SC	Damini Chandel	G
				Aradhna Uikey	ST		

Standard 5 fathers averaged 4.9 years of education and mothers (of whom 40% were illiterate) only 1.8 years. Some families tried to support their children's education, but there was little or no environment for education in the majority of homes, especially where there was a lone parent or both laboured. Even where mothers were at home, many reported that they felt shamed by their own lack of education: very few families reported motivational strategies to bolster children's determination, and only 5 pupils got support from tuition. In some families, wives or daughters hinted at tension and violence resulting from husbands' prioritising of alcohol or beedis over books or tuition fees, but they were the minority.

### Section reflections

The class, social group and 'cultural' distance between teachers and most Standard pupils families was significantly greater than that between teachers and the families of Standard 8 girls. Of the 17 incomes-groups represented in the sample, Standard 5 girls' families spanned the first five, Standard 8 the first nine, and teachers spanned sixteen, from the second to the seventeenth.

## 5.5 Conclusions and connections

This chapter has provided the district, town, village and school background to the study and local educational regimes, sketching numerous images of difference. There were notable differences in the ‘instrumental freedoms’ to which families have access (differential access to school *per se*; to types of school, and to institutional and professional regimes within schools) complexly compounding classed differences in educational aspiration, practices and outcomes. There were differences between schooling investments for sons and daughters, in the socio-economic position of teachers, Vidya and Sagar families and in the regimes and atmospheres of the two focus-schools. Ultimately, there were vast differences between the Standard 5 and Standard 8 girls, as (statistically) many of the Standard 5 class would leave school before reaching Standard 8: some would not progress to Standard 6. Compared to many of their peers, both groups of girls were the most fortunate in that they had stayed in school for so long. In this respect, the Standard 8 girls were the most fortunate of the sample.

## Chapter 6 Gender, bureaucratic and professional regimes

This chapter explores local gender, bureaucratic and teacher professional regimes, regimes that framed the construction of identities and aspiration, informed personal and professional lives and practices and encouraged or undermined the enhancement of individual, groups and corporate capabilities. The chapter begins by focussing on the gender regimes of district, town and village, providing a framework for all subsequent exploration of girls' teachers and families gendered aspirations and behaviours. It then explores the instructional regimes of district and block education offices, officials' negotiation of state agendas and their interactions with teachers. The final section explores teacher professional regimes, illustrating their position in bureaucratic hierarchies, training and professional development, protective social capital and levels of reflection. The chapter draws primarily on ethnographic data collected over all thirteen months of fieldwork.

### 6.1 Gender regimes

I start with an exploration of gender regimes, applying Connell's social embodiment framework to explore 'the way things appear' across the four structures of gendered power, production, emotional and symbolic relations. Whatever experiences girls have in school, even if they are highly empowering, their gender identities will be formed with the gender regimes of society and their communities.

#### 6.1.1 Gendered power/production relations

Given the educational gaze of the study, I could not assess which *combinations* of material, social or cultural capital enabled higher political dominance in terms of caste, ethnic or socio-economic groups. There was no doubt, however, that this dominance was male. Daily life brought constant exposure to gender regimes that I assumed might undermine the empowering potential of schooling. Gender regimes were classed, with different expectations for women and girls of different groups, but not acutely so: all

shared the same restrictive nature. Location was more significant than class: the further one travelled from cosmopolitan centres, the greater restrictions on the autonomy of women and girls. Educated, middle class rural women experienced more autonomy than labouring and illiterate ones of the same village, but far less than their urban counterparts: the lives of all rural women were more regulated and 'policed' by the community than those of their urban counterparts.

Power relations, in virtually all forms (public and private) were highly gendered. In terms of state power, there may have been more professional women, but I never heard of female district politicians, and only met two senior female government officers: one in the Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD), the other joining as Deputy Collector as the fieldwork ended.

Many classed gender regimes converged to make women's incorporation into the public sphere problematic across various dimensions. Although women were increasingly joining the labour market, their 'presence' was not very apparent. Most 'non-domestic' interactions throughout the fieldwork were with men. On arrival, the ticket collector, porter, auto-driver, hotel receptionist, phone-kiosk operator, and the officials who came to welcome me were men. This was repeated in explorations of nearly all town public domains.

Of the middle-class women who worked outside home, most were government employees: the majority were teachers; there were a few nurses and middle-ranking officials and a very few doctors and senior officials. The growth in private tuition had provided a significant new employment opportunity for women. Retail staff were all men: the only woman I met was a teacher who ran a photocopy shop with her husband when they were neither teaching, nor giving tuition. A few women operated gift boutiques from their homes or worked in beauty salons, whilst many stitched sari blouses and petticoats for immediate contacts.

The public-sphere invisibility of middle class women contrasted with the high presence of poor women among construction and agricultural labourers and domestic workers in affluent homes. Unsurprisingly, very different regimes applied to poor women: family welfare depended on their earnings, and often on their exploitation in the labour force.

Many 'sanitation workers' were women, employed by the town council to sweep the streets and burn rubbish at early dawn, before most of the town had woken. Three such women employed in my neighbourhood were Dalits of the sweeper caste: two taking this employment as their husbands searched for more lucrative and less degrading work, the third having 'inherited' the job on her husband's death.

Patriarchal norms made success for women in certain domains of the public sphere taxing. These norms were the legacy of seclusion, which made women feel that all 'lone' tasks outside the home should be purposeful and essential. Interaction outside the home with any male who was neither husband nor relative was frowned upon. Boys could play outside their homes and wander at will, but this was rarely the case for their sisters. Saris restrained women's physical movement, and most had few transport options: having to walk, use buses or get a lift from a willing 'family male'. Bicycles were out of the question (as I learnt after riding one for 4 months) and although some women were starting to ride small, 'feminine' mopeds, these were restricted to town use (until a new model was launched in 2002).

There were a number of charities and NGOs working with or for women, focussing on health and areas perceived as 'women's concerns'. On two consecutive International Women's Day gatherings, local women processed from villages to a event organised by the DWCD, where they were lectured for their 'non girl-friendly' practices and warned of the legal penalties of arranging marriages before 18, sex-selective abortions, and the neglect of girls in their infancy. Handicraft, stitching and cooking competitions were organised, and 'business carried on as usual'. The government was pursuing women's literacy and income generation programmes, and there were reservations for women in village level councils and school committees, but many female post-holders, even if they had the qualifications, did not have the necessary capabilities or social capital to navigate corruption or male-dominance, or the confidence to assume the authority vested in their positions. There were no NGOs or charities working explicitly with women on empowerment or affiliated issues, so there was almost no support or solidarity for those who would challenge the dominant gender order. This was surprising, given the amount of gender activism in many comparable contexts in numerous other areas of India.

### 6.1.2 Emotional relations

The greatest dimension of gendered emotional relations was in the importance of marriage and in the asymmetrical meanings attached to marriage for women and men. Young brides were compelled to accept marriages arranged by both families, and, on marriage, move to their husband's natal home, where their comfort depended largely on satisfying their new families. The 'ideal' girl not only had no emotional/physical interaction with boys before marriage, but she demonstrated revulsion at the idea of such relationships. She entered marriage with no experience of love or 'affairs' and once married, she was expected to adjust to her husband's priorities<sup>62</sup>. Regardless of the specifics of the situations of divorcees or widows, women had no control over their own sexuality. Girls grew up understanding that their sexual 'virtue' was perceived as their greatest asset and the bedrock of their chances for a respectable marriage. Economic resources, education and 'modest', submissive behaviour might enhance the marriage prospects of a girl of 'recognised' virtue, but if a family wanted to arrange the best possible match for their daughter, none of these factors could compensate for loss of virtue.

This concern with sexual purity/reputation resulted in severe restrictions on girls' movement and association, which increased with the luxury of economic security. The social networks of non school-going girls were restricted to their families and immediate neighbours. Even the labouring daughters who accompanied their mothers to domestic duties in my neighbourhood had few opportunities for positive interaction with others: their behaviour was strictly monitored and they were warned against any interaction, for fear of sexual exploitation. Neighbouring middle class families rewarded daughters' for obedience, unquestioning compliance and for putting family interests before all others.

Little frank discussion took place between parents and children, no emotional or psychological guidance or support was reported and most young people had no one with whom they could share their dilemmas. Young men admitted their own desires for 'affairs' (as love-relationships were termed), and knowledge of the sexual abuse of young boys by relatives and of local areas known for prostitution. Some young women spoke shyly of 'being in love', but none talked of/admitted involvement in physical

---

<sup>62</sup> Different groups observed varying practices in the event of widowhood or divorce, but these were not systematically explored.

relationships. Many, however, appeared to desire romantic relationships, and some pursued them, despite the risks and possible consequences. Whilst most relationships were forced to end on marriage, some continued, at huge risk. A few had the most tragic endings: either joint or lone suicides. A neighbour took her life on the day of her boyfriend's wedding. I was not aware of non-heterosexual relationships, despite sensationalised stories in the press: I was told they were rare and very hidden. Men and women alike acknowledged widespread sexual harassment, rape and domestic violence but suggested that families preferred to hide such incidences, given the inadequate legal system and as publicity ended marriage prospects or married women's respectability: victims were thus twice victimised.

Natal families' 'rights' over their daughter were held to cease on marriage, and many families respected this arrangement, even if unwillingly, fearing their daughter could suffer if they did not comply with social expectations. Expectations of 'too much' contact, interference in domestic relations, or even requests that daughters visit for a non-festival purpose could cause offence. Of the women who were prepared to share experiences/opinions, none wanted to live with in-laws, or even in their villages: they felt they would have a better quality of life and more freedom if they could live alone with their husbands, preferably in a town. There was also a location/class difference in the level of involvement that the couple had in arrangements. In most Nakuur families, 'children' (the term for unmarried adults) had no say. Young adults, of different classes/castes shared powerful stories of how family arrangements and their powerlessness had devastated their lives. Whilst both men and women shared their pain with an 'outsider', men seemed particularly devastated: possibly because they were not used to being so powerless.

Many pressures combined to make it difficult for Indian women to remain unmarried. These include the projected image of the 'ideal', nurturing woman, reinforced in all Indian religions; the patrilocal residence arrangements; the highly negative gender ratio, resulting in increased 'competition' for brides; and the multiple gender disadvantages that women face in the workplace. Although a small percentage of Indian women (nationally) remain unmarried, five teachers were (three of these were involved only in the pilot): one lived alone, two with sisters, one at her workplace in a faith-based school, the fifth (Rounak) lived in her natal home, supporting her mother and her brother's

widow and children. Given strong societal projections of ideal women, these teachers emphasised the 'maternal'/pastoral nature of teaching when reflecting on their own situations.

Professional women's families were deemed their first priority: their work assumed to be of secondary importance, something that provided extra finances, or supported the family in cases where widows had been awarded their husband's posts<sup>63</sup>. There was no strongly articulated support of the idea that women should be free to gain their satisfaction from professional or religious pursuits and remain unmarried, or combine such interests with motherhood without feelings of guilt. Rounak and a close friend of hers, felt this was acceptable, but rarely articulated it publicly: and faced opposition and ridicule as 'deficient' when they supported their case against the domestic norm.

The theme of 'accepting one's situation and not complaining' was recurrent. The greater the challenges and the less resources/power to deal with them, the greater the apparent stoicism (and denial/suppression of suffering) displayed. As girls and women had less power than boys or men, and often had to face greater challenges, they often displayed the greatest stoicism. As the potential autonomy available to an individual rose, so did the likelihood of feeling/articulating dissatisfaction. Most adult women involved in any way with the study were reticent to admit any dissatisfaction with their lives. One woman, with whom I had a confidential friendship, eventually told me why she found it hard to talk about her life.

What is the point of having any feelings? It's not good, but I can't change it in any way. If I reflect on it, all I will do is hurt myself. The truth is, I wonder why my parents did this to me. After a childhood filled with nothing but school and tuition, I now spend my waking hours serving my extended family. If you want me to think about it, I will, now. What I think is this: 'Why didn't they just put a gun to my head and shoot me?' They didn't. This is my life. I have to try and make it as comfortable as I can. (Name withheld).

Many women recognised their severely restricted autonomy, but they neither emphasised nor laboured it.

---

<sup>63</sup> If a woman (who was not already in government service) was widowed whilst her husband *was* employed in government service, his post was passed on to her if she was suitably qualified. If not, she was awarded a position relative to her qualifications, or lack of them. This is an interesting area for further research, as, if the process works unproblematically, it would enhance the argument for women's further education, in case of widowhood.



There was a definite generational gap, with younger women expressing more 'empowered' gender attitudes/aspirations. Some older women, however, were as, or more aware, than younger ones of their unequal, gendered positions. Numerous older women related difficulties faced simply because 'they were women' and spoke authoritatively of what they presented as the 'universal' experience of women's oppression. Some expressed admiration for environments where women could escape bad situations and marriages, and two said they wished they could do just that. Others related stories of women who had left their husbands, with and without family support, but made it clear that these women were neither relatives, nor friends.

A prominent dimension of gendered emotional relationships was related to spirituality. In the homes where I spent much time, older women performed all home-based religious ceremonies and rituals. Each home had at least one main shrine, around which women, or girls, performed puja (prayers/worship) on a daily basis. Husbands went to the temple as frequently as wives led home-based puja: wives also went to the temple, but less frequently. Many mothers fasted regularly for their families, and different days were allocated different fasts, one specifically assigned for husbands' wellbeing. Women, especially those who did not work outside the home, were viewed as responsible for maintaining family favour with 'the gods'. This may have been the one thing that they felt able (and mandated) to do for themselves. The daily televised serialisation of religious epics, with their reach into almost every other home, were watched regularly by many more women than men, potentially reinforcing very specific and 'virtuous' images of femininity. As media analysts have shown, none of these serials present any challenge to male-defined interpretations of the epics, and none encapsulate feminist interpretations of the female principle and goddesses.

There was strong association between menstruation and understandings of 'defilement'. In many households, menstruating girls and women could not enter the kitchen, touch food or drink for others, containers that hold them, or water sources. They were not supposed to sit on cloth-covered chairs or mats used by others, to sleep on mattresses, or touch others. They obviously could not perform puja, as they were 'polluted'. The implications of this were far-reaching and contradictory. I saw women with neither domestic help nor non-menstruating daughters 'stuck': unable to help themselves or their families. At the same time I saw their husbands or sons preparing family meals.

This time was not welcomed by any women I met as a time of rest, but of inconvenience and displacement, when they felt negated by their exclusion, *and* more indebted to their husbands for the extra work they had to take on. Some mothers felt guilty at burdening their daughters and diverting them from study.

### 6.1.3 Symbolic relations

Notions of femininity were well defined: a prominent dimension being self-effacement. The 'ideal' woman, not only wife or mother, should spend most of her time at home, where she was responsible for maintaining a welcoming environment, the most crucial component of which was food and refreshment: the family had to be well fed and guests offered tea on arrival, food soon after. As guests could come at any time, and could not be turned away, women were on duty 'around the clock'. Many of the Nakuur mothers started their days at 5 am with morning puja before the preparation of food for breakfast and lunch, ending them after 10 pm once the family had eaten and their needs been attended to. The working day of many husbands started after 10 am and ended on returning from the office at 5 pm. In response to the dual demand that women stay at home yet provide for families, products and services came to the door. Hawkers plied the streets of middle class colonies with handcarts loaded with anything from silk saris (and underwear), to daily vegetables, household utensils and furniture samples. Milk, ghee, papers, post, bills and gas cylinders were delivered by bicycle.

When my host family was alone, interactions were relaxed, and although traditional gender roles were maintained, there was rarely a sense of compulsion or resentment. None of the women veiled in the husband/father's company, nor when they left the house (in strong contrast to village practice). The situation changed radically when male guests (invariably family) arrived, then heads were covered, eyes cast down, and the women sat on mats on the floor. No priority exceeded that of guests' wellbeing, so all plans/preoccupations had to be dropped. Male voices would boom and it was hard to hear the interjections from women who were not (in this home) excluded from the day's business. The women's contributions, though quiet and rarely confrontational, were explained to me as deeply thought-out and 'manipulative', both in their presentation and intent. Many women may never have imagined that the structure of family life could change, but they have probably learnt from generations of foremothers how to make 'everyday mundane experiences' more bearable.

The centrality of fragility was striking. The archetypal beauty of provincial India was delicate, fair-skinned, with long hair, carefully manicured features and golden jewellery<sup>64</sup>. She should not be too energetic, adventurous or attract attention through any means other than her groomed appearance. Loud laughter was deemed most unfeminine, as I was sharply informed after laughing at the cinema. Considerable time was invested in maintaining appearance, especially the long hair that should ideally be tied back and never cut short<sup>65</sup>. Docility also appeared a key feature of femininity, and middle class mothers invested considerable energy in preparing their daughters to accept whatever their 'fate' may have in store.

Some teachers and officials, however, treated their daughters in ways that, whilst not posing a strong challenge to entrenched gender inequities, did not conform to the models in the literature. These families appeared to create spaces for agency, and expect daughters to be questioning, adventurous and confident. Expectations of wives, young girls and even adolescents were, however, contradictory. If attention were focussed on family reactions to the wife, the family might have been assumed traditional: if onto educational investment choices made for now-graduated daughters, perhaps progressive; but then if it was refocused onto marriage decisions for these daughters, they appeared traditional; if it focussed on the ways in which they were bringing up/encouraging school-going daughters, they would then appear progressive.

I had brought sufficient salwaar suits<sup>66</sup> for the fieldwork, thinking this a concession to the gendered dress code. It soon became clear, however, that I was wearing adolescent dress in the Hindu community: I should have been wearing a sari. Most women had to wear saris after marriage: suits were occasionally permitted within the home, but rarely outside. Married girls who could return to their natal homes alone reserved saris for the journeys, spending their time at home in suits. The concepts of childhood and adolescence (and thus appropriate dress for these stages) varied enormously: a girl could be perceived as child one day, and a young adult the next, depending not on age, but marriage considerations.

---

<sup>64</sup> As opposed to silver, which was seen as the jewellery of village and Adivasi women.

<sup>65</sup> A short hair cut was known as a 'boy-cut'.

<sup>66</sup> Loose trousers, a shirt-like dress with sleeves and a scarf-like duppatta.

Finally, at the outset of the fieldwork in Phase 1, Rounak came to school (Sagar) by bus, by bicycle (despite the initial surprise this had caused) or was given a lift on the back of the head-teachers' motorcycle. Anu had not yet joined Vidya and all female teachers either walked or were brought by their husbands. Anu was the first to come to school (Vidya) by moped. By the end of Phase 3, not only had Mohini joined her in riding a moped in town, but Rounak and Seema (despite Seema's anxiety) were also riding their own mopeds out of town to Sagar. It appeared to be a significant change in gender symbolism. The fact that Rounak and Seema could ride out of town was indicative of greater acceptance of the mobility of lone women, but was also a result of increasing demand and technical developments: a new moped came to Nakuur in 2002, suitable for women wearing saris, but also strong enough for non-town driving.

### Section reflections

The Nakuur social structure was marked by strong gender hierarchies. To many, the established gender order wherein men dominated the public sphere, especially responsible positions within it, and 'respectable' women remained within the private sphere, seemed part of the 'natural order of things'. Few formative or daily experiences (professional, educational, familial or reflective) exposed individuals to reasoned challenges to the established gender order. Social regulation of behaviour and attitudes was so significant that few individuals or groups in Nakuur stood in principled opposition to the status quo that reinforced women's exclusion from, or marginalisation within, public sphere responsibility. Institutional environments, even ones where professional women worked, reflected the influence of this largely unchallenged gendered social hierarchy.

## 6.2 Institutional regimes of district and block education offices

This section focuses on the institutional regimes of district and block offices, outlining the genesis of the stark difference between the equality and empowerment visions of state education policies and the technical, parity negotiation and appropriation of these visions by district officials.

Institutional interactions were classed and gendered, and institutional norms and procedures militated against the uptake of inclusive and egalitarian agendas. (But the

fieldwork was conducted before new SSA institutional infrastructures had been realised, and so explored environments preceding rearrangements perceived as necessary for more egalitarian representation and thus influence: there was a comprehensive change of staff in the year after fieldwork ended). In 2001, higher caste men dominated district bureaucratic institutions: very few women or 'non-elite' men were represented (See Appendix 9, Table 5, for positions, sex and caste groups of senior education officials).

In contrast to the RGSM offices in Bhopal, district office infrastructure was inadequate. The physical environment and facilities were basic, with no hygiene or canteen facilities and little protection against the elements (not only heat in summer and cold in winter, but dust all year round and paper-destroying moulds and termites during the rains). Office accommodation for DEO and SSA teams was temporary, but regardless of justification, the stark physical environment made acute demands on professional progress. Offices were poorly equipped, although employees were accustomed to these environments.

District and block offices did function: there was a system, it did appear to work and staff appeared purposefully engaged on all visits. But the system was labour intensive, paper-based, time-consuming and reproductive. It was not suited to new RGSM productivity and data demands, demands that appeared dependent on 'high-tech' infrastructure, confident computer skills and high staff motivation. Although many long-serving officers demonstrated high attention to detail and commitment, institutional inadequacies rendered much of this effort inefficient. Systemic inadequacy may have contributed to a focus on daily procedures and the satisfaction of data demands.

The organisational and reporting structure of the RGSM appeared to co-opt every layer into the quantitative emphases and priorities, set ultimately by the national government and supra-national agencies. Each layer reported to the one above, focussing on baseline data, physical and organisational infrastructure, trainings completed, populations, pupils enrolled, persisting and passing exams and women 'declared literate'. The tasks of responding to these data demands, and the pressures that they created, appeared enormous, and there appeared to be little space to reflect on or contest agendas.

There was also no integrated data collection-processing-verification cycle: staff worked on discrete parts, as a production line. This may have had many consequences, a significant one being an interruption of the learning cycle which would have, had it been allowed to flow, demonstrated the critical importance of quality inputs and enhanced all skills relating to data collection, processing and analysis. As both these outputs were short-circuited, concern with quality appeared minimal and data-confidence stagnated.

A major issue related to district level capacity was the scarcity of computers and the 'reified' position of computers and operators. Staff did not have access to computers as facilitatory tools. A limited number were supplied to all offices during the final stage of fieldwork, but, even in offices with established computer cells, basic computer operation remained the preserve of an 'expert' few. Trained operators (usually junior clerks, not government officers) were employed for all computer-related tasks, whilst most staff followed paper-based procedures and gathered data that was processed, analysed and understood far from the point of collection.

This scenario was exacerbated, efficiency further reduced and stress increased by the considerable time spent on unplanned, non-strategic activity, which occurred due to the dual reporting structure: to the RGSM, based in Bhopal, and the Nakuur District Collector, minutes away. Strategic direction came from the RGSM, but the Collectorate also issued data requests and orders. The frequency of these requests may have been exacerbated in Nakuur, as there were three different Collectors, and three DEO's, during the research. Due to the physical proximity of the Collectorate, Collectors' demands took priority over strategic RGSM tasks. This appeared to cause replication and waste of effort, contradictory to high-output efficiency.

An apparent absence of regulatory infrastructure, hierarchical structures and a strong concern with maintaining cordial relationships contributed to official practice being 'performance', apparently determined by the need of the individual to ingratiate to the most senior official, regardless of how s/he was perceived. Some officials had a sense of their performance, and sometimes even the irony of it. This was especially pertinent in situations where a long-serving junior officer had to report to a newly appointed senior manager: a recurrent situation throughout the research. One official acknowledged his performance, and general awareness of these dynamics:

He's no idea of the situation or of what has to be done to satisfy Bhopal, he knows that, I know that, but we don't act like we do. He carries on, giving orders, telling us what to submit, and we get on with it. His orders are vague ... we continue working and keep Bhopal satisfied. He's happy ... no one gets disturbed. (Mr Parasar).

This 'ingratiation' could be enhanced by membership of the same jati group, although this was not inevitable; there was considerable scope to enhance position by engaging in 'out-of-office support' to senior managers, either in their official capacity or in relation to political 'causes'.

### Section reflections

This section has outlined how hierarchical regimes of provincial educational offices encouraged exclusive focus on statistics and parity, almost regardless of data validity, marginalising opportunities for professional reflection and creativity by both officials and teachers.

## 6.3 Teacher professional regimes

This final section explores teacher professional regimes, providing background detail for the discussion of focus-school institutional regimes in Chapter 8, and focus-class teachers' negotiation of these regimes in Chapter 9. As I feel that use of the rich interview data engaging with these themes might compromise the position of some teachers, especially more junior ones, this section draws predominantly on ethnographic data, with some quotations where I feel their use is not problematic.

### 6.3.1 Divided cadres, district "servants", government data demands

Nakuur teachers appeared de-professionalised, discontent and largely unaccountable beyond their own consciences. More than these features, however, they were divided. (Madhya Pradesh had ceased the recruitment of established-teachers from 1994, replacing them with para-teachers). The majority of established-teachers, with substantial salaries, were often of middle class, general caste families. Many para-teachers, however, were from non-general caste, lower socio-economic group families, and they drew a fraction of established-teacher salary. Anecdotes abounded about how para-teachers bore the brunt of teaching and responsibilities, whilst established-teachers,

secure in their posts, feared - and did - little. There were obviously cases and exceptions, but this pattern appeared to be more the norm than the exception.

The second major professional hierarchy was related to level. With each step up the educational infrastructure, higher entry qualifications were required, in return for greater status, esteem and pay (although this hierarchy was complicated by the presence of para-teachers at every level). Even para-teachers had three divisions, with different recruitment criteria, resulting in placement in different schooling levels (See Chapter 2, Section 3 and Appendix 5). Teachers in EGS and primary schools were the least esteemed and remunerated, but often the most accountable. Given that the socio-economic profile of pupils rose with progress up the educational ladder, EGS Gurujis and primary teachers, often the least prepared and remunerated, faced the greatest professional challenges, worked in the least professional environments and were least respected and assisted by officials.

Teachers were regularly used by the district administration for numerous non-school data, immunisation and electoral tasks. Such tasks continued throughout the year, as Santosh explained:

The year-before-last elections were held. Then came the census, then pulse polio. It's not fixed, on average, out of 240 working days, we spend about 40 on government work. (Santosh Pandey-SME3~AHT).

With the launching of SSA, teachers' data collection tasks magnified. Some teachers, often the most conscientious, could find themselves taken from the classroom, with no cover provided, for up to 30% of contact time. Two such teachers, para-teachers from a town school, completed this official duty in school time, and taught their classes in their own time. These new data collection tasks, burdening officials as well as teachers, affected focus on almost all academic and/or pedagogic issues. I did not observe a single interaction between officials and teachers related to teaching, academic or professional practice over thirteen months. Santosh told me that officials no longer had time for these concerns.

Earlier officials visited for inspection once a month, once in two months. But now they have stopped coming. They've the same work as us. (Santosh Pandey-SME3~AHT).



There was no time for quality or equality: the corporate effort was directed at the pursuit of parity, without realising its achievement was dependent on efforts towards quality and equality.

### 6.3.2 Personalised access and protective social capital

Appendix 15, Table 11 outlines Nakuur primary and middle teachers by grade and gender. The male: female ratio was almost 3:1, but within this inequality, men and women seemed equally distributed across primary and middle, and urban and rural schools. What the data does not show is that 40% of head-teachers were class-teachers acting as head-teachers, with no change to status, remuneration or authority to unite or guide staff, or access to officials, as explained by Santosh Pandey, Sagar AHT during Phase 3.

I can't go to the Collectorate or the District Office, to get a map or any other document on the basis that I am a teacher and also looking after the JSK. No. If I know someone, it's a different matter. Otherwise as a teacher I have no say - no access. (Santosh Pandey-SME3~AHT).

Santosh, however, as a 'general' caste, 'established' male teacher with a long service record, working at middle school level and now acting head-teacher of a JSK, would have had much greater access to officials than most primary colleagues, even with the same profile, than most women, and than all para-teachers.

Teachers' deprofessionalised and unaccountable position enabled absenteeism and inadequate performance, because officials appeared to ignore the fact that many teachers were irregular, or often absent from classrooms when they were in school, or only taught for a fraction of the time in their classrooms. Most officials were unwilling to engage the topic in discussion. All but one denied the accuracy of the observation, or assured me that such teachers *were* disciplined. Mr Parasar eventually admitted it was common practice, and gave his perspective on its causes.

We don't do it. We have to live side by side. The risks are big ... you dare make a stand only if you know your case is watertight *and* that it'll be sustained ... But here everything can be bought, including innocence ... so you can't *ever* be sure your case will be sustained. If you bring one, you make things difficult for yourself... to no end ... because the teacher's name will be cleared and a case will be brought against your department - we're all afraid of that. (Mr Parasar. Paraphrased in fieldnotes: 4.1.02).

General experience between 2001 and 2003 supported this assessment, and numerous teachers' comments reflected the complaint of Ritesh, a new para-teacher (not from either focus-school) who was so burdened with data collection tasks that he taught in his own time:

The biggest weakness is at the level of government. There's no checking, no monitoring of the teachers. No one bothers to find out how well a school's functioning. (Ritesh Kajley – Quetta Primary School).

Disciplining of teachers did appear to increase under the leadership of the new Collector from 2002. The situation was complex, however, as not all teachers avoided discipline and some were unjustly disciplined. Teacher testimonies described situations where conscientious teachers purportedly became the victims of local political negotiations and were wrongly disciplined, temporarily suspended or even transferred, making space for a new teacher who had bribed local authorities<sup>67</sup>. As there was no apparent, enforced regulatory infrastructure to frame professional interactions, they became susceptible to influence from informal networks. These networks sometimes subsumed jati affiliations, but other features, predominantly of classed or political nature, also entered the equation. This privileged teachers with the 'appropriate' social capital, especially those who could 'make themselves useful' to officials, and rendered others more vulnerable.

There was no simple relationship between a teacher's sex and access to protective social capital, as the relationship was more a feature of social class and/or 'group membership'. Although women were constrained by the dominant gender order from participating in the informal activity necessary to protect or clear their names, male relatives would make these approaches. There was, however, a marked gender difference in the 'access' that women and men had to senior officials. In their daily work in schools, male officials interacted with both male and female teachers, but their interactions were primarily directed towards men unless there were none available or if a female teacher determinedly pushed herself forward. Very few women did this, despite strong belief in their ability to contribute and their insights into the topics under discussion.

---

<sup>67</sup> There were numerous accounts of bribery to obtain educational posts, from that of Guruji to District Education Officer, but I felt they were too contentious to pursue during this investigation.

In common with female officials, the sphere of professional interaction from which female teachers were most excluded was that of the unofficial, out of hours, ‘just-making-themselves-available-for-anything’ work done by male teachers for ‘superiors’ and officials. (This does not include all the official data collection work that teachers had to do in addition to their school-based roles). Teachers who made themselves available for this type of invisible support, which often relied on the teacher using his own transport, usually a motorcycle, appeared immune to professional regulation in school. This resulted in sustained periods of teacher absence with no class cover.

### 6.3.3 Training, professional development and reflection

During the fieldwork, I attended three EGS (Education Guarantee Scheme) para-teacher trainings and a 7-day residential Science training. Each EGS training was attended by at least 200 trainees, who were seated crossed-legged, in sex-segregated sections in a school hall, whilst lectures were declaimed from ‘experts’ on the podium, day after day. The Science training, called to re-acquaint teachers with ‘state Science’ after the closing of Eklavya, followed the same pattern. The ‘experts’, whose own lectures demonstrated a lack of subject-knowledge, selected trainees to present specified lessons, without giving adequate guidance or preparation time. I wondered how this humiliation was tolerated; yet teachers sat, listened and contributed, day after day, appearing unaffected (apart from Rounak, who seethed visibly and got into numerous arguments with facilitators). As we were staying together, I had many opportunities to talk at leisure. Teachers had a vast amount to say about the difference between didactic, hierarchical state trainings and the more egalitarian, collaborative Eklavya approaches, encapsulated in a comment by Rounak:

Eklavya trainers explained well and gave us time to investigate and work things out ourselves. They taught in the way we should teach. We felt happy. Another training, organised by the DIET, was not good in comparison: it did not offer practical involvement. I also went for one more training with the RGSM. There I realised that people may think or talk nicely, but they don’t necessarily act accordingly. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Teachers at the Science training, many of whom had been Eklavya Resource Teachers, ‘felt’ the condescension, the ‘experts’ lack of knowledge and the degradation of accommodation not fit for habitation, yet they presented themselves as powerless to protest: public ‘servants’ (this term was stressed) with no avenues for complaint. They

explained that as they met such frustrations on a daily basis, they would be in hospital if they reacted. They had neither respect for their trainers, or for the training: they took it as an opportunity for a break and suffered the humiliations until the evenings when they were free to wander the town and tourist attractions.

In terms of reflection on professional and educational practice, teachers could be divided into four categories: those who were so disengaged from the profession that they rarely reflected; those who were uncomfortable with their practice, but had no guidance for reflection, so appeared 'stuck'; those reported that they used to reflect, but had been broken down by a system that had robbed them of any autonomy to implement the results of their reflection; and, finally, those who persisted in reflective practice despite the restrictions, frustrations and even humiliations associated with doing so in formal schools.

Within the sample, the level of reflective practice was far greater amongst teachers associated with Eklavya. The contrast was stark, as was a sense of confidence and even satisfaction among teachers who had a framework within which to analyse and understand classroom experiences and frustrations. Eklavya teachers conducted the five most 'accomplished' lessons observed throughout the fieldwork, but, during the fieldwork, Eklavya-trained teachers were not necessarily the most engaged and reflective.

Even if they had been, greater engagement and reflective practice was not uniquely an Eklavya-effect, however, as membership was interest-based, so teachers who were already interested in improving their practice joined. (There were other significant factors, including school level, Eklavya package, school environment, type of support and teacher personality). Eight Vidya teachers had been exposed to Eklavya's Prashika approach, four had been involved as trainees and three others had been Resource Teachers. By 2001, however, there was no apparent evidence of 'association' with Eklavya in the practice of any these teachers. Many Eklavya teachers were thus in the third category, of having once reflected, but also of having been 'broken'.

Nakuur teachers, tasked as ‘instruments of the state’ to enable the questioning of the status-quo and empowering transformation in subordinate identities and hierarchical social relationships, operated with a highly hierarchical professional structure, with no scope for innovation or challenge, and no encouragement for dedicated, honest service.

### 6.4 Conclusions and connections

This chapter has outlined local gender, bureaucratic and professional regimes: regimes that were both complex and excluding, undermining the potential for enhanced participation and contradicting the principles of state policy and the capability approach. Gendered power, production, emotional and symbolic relations reinforced the reproduction of subordinate gender identities and inequitable gender relations, with virtually no local support for challenge to the gender status quo. Hierarchical regimes of provincial educational offices encouraged exclusive focus on statistics and parity, almost regardless of data validity, marginalising reflection and creativity. Teacher professional regimes not only framed teachers as reluctant, unreflective, unskilled implementers of state policy, but also afforded little protection and encouragement for conscientious teachers who shared the egalitarian visions of state policy. Recruitment policies divided the profession, and the inadequacy of training, the absence of accountability and the proliferation of teachers’ non-school duty failed pupils.

The next chapter explores the perspectives of the families of Cohort 3 girls, and how the affect of these arrangements and regimes on teachers and school institutional regimes shaped their aspirations and commitments to their daughter’s continued schooling.

## Chapter 7 Families and family regimes

This chapter focuses on the families of Cohort 3 girls. It starts by exploring the nature of family aspirations for the next level of education, introducing their location among a continuum of four 'aspirational groups' and then explores the reasons why families valued schooling for their daughters. The focus turns to the factors shaping family educational aspirations and practices, proceeding from an exploration of income-aspiration correlations to that of broader family concerns and conditions for continued schooling. The third section presents an exploration of the complexity of 'virtuous and vicious' circles of family aspirations and practices, and the outcomes for their daughters. Throughout the chapter, families are introduced in groups: ordered first by school, then by 'educational aspirational category' then, within this framework, in income-group order, starting with the lowest group. The unique reference number (GURN) of the relevant 'daughter' follows each family quotation.

### 7.1 Family aspirations for girls' further schooling

This section explores the nature of families' aspirations for their daughters and illustrates their range over four 'aspirational groups'.

#### 7.1.1 Family aspirations: four 'aspirational' groups

Families had many reasons for valuing schooling and recognised intrinsic, instrumental and positional returns to it (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2003). Without exception, all families saw schooling, education and literacy (seen as one marker of schooling) as something intrinsically 'good', for everyone, and, regardless of the quality of accessible provision, all aspired to educate their offspring. All families, regardless of income, aspired to eight years of schooling as the lowest essential minimum for their daughters, and many aspired to more. Many embraced the idea that their daughter/s might work after schooling and marriage, but none felt that eight years' schooling was sufficient for public-sphere employment, hence a persistent focus in the interviews on aspirations for the *next level* of schooling. Aspirations were, nevertheless, highly gendered: educational

investments for boys were primarily related to the labour market; those for girls were primarily (but by no means uniquely) structured by marriage considerations.

Families who had lost confidence in the possibility of their daughter/s continuing school past the current year were the least likely to elaborate on any returns to schooling, and thus reported the lowest aspirational levels. From Vidya, Damini Chandel's father (VU22D) was adamant that there would be no return (neither employment, nor marriage) to the education offered at Vidya or to the town middle school. From Sagar, Leela Rehlol's family (SI17A) were direct in expressing their dissatisfaction with government education and with the possibility of *any* return. Interviews with such families focussed on the inadequacy of provision, the arrogance and often callousness of government representatives and the lack of returns to schooling. (See Appendix 10, Tables 3 and 6 for coding tables for family interviews).

There was considerable criticism (from all generations) of the inferior quality of government schooling, the lack of contact time and of teaching, and of teacher attitudes. There was also minimal engagement with teaching style and content amongst older generations (they said they felt ill-equipped to express such opinions), but a few siblings or girls' relatives who had studied the Eklavya syllabi were fiercely articulate in their denunciations of the substance of government curricula.

Beyond this basic framework, family educational aspirations and strategies diverged. Data from observations, background questionnaires, and teacher, pupil and family interviews suggested that family aspirations concerning daughters' further schooling were distributed on a continuum from 'confident', to 'aspirational', 'undermined' and 'indifferent'. 'Confident' families felt sure that they would, and could, continue their daughter's schooling. 'Aspirational' ones expressed desire for further schooling, but their material realities/current practices were such that fulfilment of their aspirations would be difficult. 'Undermined' families related a once-strong desire for education that had been eroded. 'Indifferent' families were either indifferent about further schooling or about engaging in discussion: either way, they expressed no further educational plans for their daughters.

**Table 5: Family aspirations/confidence for further schooling**

Vidya - Post Standard 5 aspirations						
#	Confident-5	IG #	Aspirational-4	IG #	Undermined-13	IG # Indifferent-0 IG
1	Sunanda Prasad	B	6 Sujata Khorey	A	10 Bina Phurvi	A
2	Priya Gehlot	C	7 Ananya Kaithwas	A	11 Suman Gehlot	A
3	Shobha Gehlot	C	8 Ananya Nuikey	B	12 Damini Gehlot	A
4	Reena Singh	C	9 Sujata Saini	B	13 Rewa Prasad	B
5	Aruna Kaithwas	E			14 Rashmi Dohar	C
					15 Parul Kaithwas	C
					16 Aradhna Uikey	C
					17 Anu Khan	C
					18 Kamini Kalsi	C
					19 Kanchan Kaithwas	D
					20 Rani Kaithwas	D
					21 Sudha Kaithwas	D
					22 Damini Chandel	D
Sagar - Post Standard 8 aspirations						
	Confident-15	IG #	Aspirational-0	IG #	Undermined-1	IG # Indifferent-4 IG
1	Saroj Sahu	A			16 Lajwanti Chaudri	A 17 Leela Rehlot A
2	Lajwanti Sahu	A				18 Damini Sutar A
3	Jagruti Sahu	A				19 Kanchan C
4	Chitra Sahu	B				Banwar
5	Pratima Singh	C				20 Bali Singh G
6	Kanchan Gourey	C				
7	Alka Khorey	D				
8	Usha Chhalotrey	D				
9	Lekha Sutar	E				
10	Anamika Khorey	F				
11	Madhuri Sarvan	F				
12	Sharmila Khorey	I				
13	Aruna Chhalotrey	I				
14	Meena Sahu	I				
15	Rakhi Khorey	I				

# = pupil reference number, IG = income group.

Table 5 introduces all families and presents their distribution across the aspirational groups (the correlation between income and aspiration is discussed below).

### 7.1.2 The 'value/s' attached to daughters' school persistence

Families had many reasons for valuing schooling, and they recognised positional, instrumental and intrinsic returns to it (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2003), for daughters as well as sons. But these were *desired* returns, most of which were recognised as dependent on the achievement of more than eight years of schooling. This rendered parental desire for daughters' *further schooling* the central issue, a fact reflected in almost all interview emphases.



Families often expressed powerlessness in relation to daughters' futures, and most felt that their future happiness depended on the 'quality' of future husband and in-laws. Their primary concern thus focussed on bringing up daughters to enable the best possible 'match', a concern that shaped most aspects of girls' lives. This did not, however, mean that families were only interested in educating daughters for 'others' and domesticity. Of the nine themes emerging from all interviews, families' most frequently articulated reason for educating their daughter was that it would make her life better (with no reference to marriage), and actions were regularly presented as a response to daughters' desires and insistence.

#### 7.1.2.1 A 'better life'

All families' self-representations (regardless of income) were of people who cared about their daughters' future wellbeing<sup>68</sup>. Educational strategies were presented as focussed on preparing daughters for any future problems and challenges that they would have to face. Benefit was expressed in terms of a girl 'being more wise': of being better able to 'stand on her own feet'; to recognise when someone was attempting to cheat her, and to engage in small home-based income generating activities (regardless of marital status).

From Vidya, Ananya Kaithwas' parents, despite their low income, were convinced that schooling was 'useful'.

How can it be bad if she studies? It can only be good. If the child goes anywhere in the world, her education will always be with her. Look, I'm illiterate and can't understand many things, even if I only go as far as the bus-stand. If a girl's educated, wherever she goes, she'll always be better able to look after herself. We're ready to work from 8 'til 7, provided she's getting a good education. If she manages to stand on her feet it'll much more rewarding. We tell her not to spoil her life. We've already spoiled ours, but we'll try to make hers good. (Mrs Kaithwas-VA7A).

Sujata Saini's mother, having learnt from being widowed and left to raise her family alone, assured us categorically that:

Whoever says it's more important to teach boys further is wrong. On the contrary, it's important to teach girls more, because the life of an uneducated girl is very difficult. (Mrs Saini-VA9B).

---

<sup>68</sup> The exceptions were Mr Chandel (from Vidya) and the 'indifferent' Sagar families.

From Sagar, Chitra's mother acknowledged the difficulty of gaining employment, and accepted, but nevertheless appreciated, the limited returns that would make women's lives slightly better.

If we have some skill, we can at least earn a little. Chitra can do machine stitching, yes, maybe only earn 8 to 10 rupees a day, but with that money you can provide for small everyday purchases. (Mrs Sahu-SC4B).

Anamika's mother's echoed belief in education as a tool to help girls improve their lives.

More girls would study, and further, if there was a higher secondary school in this village. Then they'll escape from their problems. Even if they don't get jobs, education is very important in life. (Mrs Khorey-SC10F).

Families' emphasis on their daughters' happiness led me to ask about feelings when daughters leave home to join their in-laws. Everyone was surprised at the question, saying that they always felt devastated at losing a loved one who had grown up with them; some even became quite emotional. When asked if it would be preferable for daughters to marry *within* the village, all but two families (one was notably Pratima's mother) felt it would be bad, as they would see their daughter's suffering, yet be powerless to do anything. Sharmila's grandmother went on to explain how education helped a girl deal with possible pressures from in-laws.

Boys demand more and more, and girls commit suicide for shame and fear. Girls are sensitive; they know that if they tell their families, they'll burden them. To spare their families humiliation and unhappiness, they kill themselves. If a girl is educated she won't take such a step. She'll try to do something on her own, to be independent. (Mrs Khorey Senior-SC12I).

Rakhi's father was 'animatedly' surprised at our question:

Who wouldn't feel bad? The whole family feels sad. All these years we look after her, give her our love, care for her, feed her, educate her. Naturally we feel *so* bad parting with her. That's why we try to give her a good education, so that she doesn't miss anyone too much and lives happily with her family. (Mr Khorey-SC15I).

His direct articulation of the reasons behind educational investments for Rakhi reflected what most families were saying: 'we do as much as we can, when we can, to help her later, when we will not be able to do anything'.

### 7.1.2.2 The best possible marriage

All parents (apart from Pratima's mother, whose case is explored in Box 2 below) believed that marriage was obligatory for their daughters; that their authority and influence would transfer on marriage to in-laws; that it was their duty to arrange the marriage (in most cases with no or minimal consultation with their daughters), and that they would have to provide as much dowry as possible to ease their daughters' acceptance into her new families. After marriage, daughters would only be linked by association and brief visit.

Family aspirations for sons were almost devoid of marriage considerations, directly related to a family's perception of labour market advantage. Most families assumed their sons, or at least one, would live with them permanently, and that his wife would come under their authority and influence, as well as that of their son/s. Sons' happiness was not dependent on their conditioning and ability to submit to and please anyone outside their own families, and as parents were likely to be dependent on their son/s in the future, their behaviour towards them was often more circumscribed. Sons were not only far more autonomous than their sisters, but they also experienced their 'latent/potential' power throughout their upbringing, just as their sisters experienced their powerlessness.

Sagar families expressed more concern with the marriage returns to education than most Vidya families, possibly because their daughters were older, nearing marriageable age, and possibly because they generally had higher incomes than Vidya families.

Even some 'undermined' Vidya families, however, expressed belief in the positive marriage returns to more education. The mother of the three Kaithwas sisters insisted that if they were educated:

their future will improve. .... They'll get better husbands and in-laws. If not, they'll only get illiterates. (Mrs Prasad-VC1B/VU13B).

Even though some families felt they had insufficient income to afford them the luxury of concern about their future son-in-law's education, all, regardless of income, perceived educated 'boys' as better matches than un-educated ones.

Of the confident Sagar families, most correlated more schooling with better *sasural* (in-laws' home). Saroj's mother made a direct connection between Saroj's education and her chances of going 'into' a good family, which was for her synonymous with higher levels of schooling (and thus greater earning potential).

If she studies well and goes into a good family, her life will be better than ours. ... We'll look for a boy who's employed or has his own business. (Mrs Sahu-SC1A).

Kanchan's mother and sister-in-law articulated dissatisfaction with government education and the links with the labour market, but they were more committed to, and explicit about, the marriage benefits of more education. Again, a 'good' family was one where the husband had income-earning opportunities *other than* labouring for others.

No girls get any (employment) benefit from education, but we try to make her educated, because then she can be married to a good family. ... Nowadays every boy wants at least a 10-12 pass girl. That's why we're trying to educate her to 12. (Mrs Gourey-SC6C).

The highly articulate grandmother of Sharmila, having arranged the marriages of daughters and granddaughters alike, spelt out the relationship in no uncertain terms.

Nowadays, the first thing people ask about is the girl's education. If the girl is not educated, then finding a good family is a problem. Boys want educated brides these days. That is why it is important to give education to girls. (Mrs Khorey Senior-SC12I).

Rakhi's family, the most prosperous of the sample, made a direct link between families' educational investments and girls' marriage prospects:

People educate their daughters because today boys want *padhi-likhi* (educated) girls. If a family comes to know that a girl has only studied up to class 5 or 6, they're not interested. (Mrs Khorey-SC15I).

In both cases, the 'boys' and 'families' considered to be 'suitable matches' were those who invested in education.

Families on the lowest incomes, especially where both parents were daily wage labourers and where daughters were failing at school, did *not* express their educational investments primarily in marriage terms. These were predominantly Vidya families, but included three from Sagar: those of Lajwanti Chaudri (SU16A), Leela Rehlol (SI17A) and Damini

Sutar (SII18A). These families were pragmatic about marriage options, stating that marriages would be arranged with families of similar socio-economic status to their own, who would not be in a position to be concerned about girls' schooling levels. These girls' families saw no returns to educational investment in terms of quality of the prospective spouse, and were thus not dissuaded from educating their daughters by the prospect of having to pay a higher dowry for a more educated groom. (In fact, most families were determinedly insistent that dowry considerations *did not* dissuade them from educating their daughters). These families educated their daughters as long as they could afford to, *and* whilst their conditions were met (see subsection 7.2.2). Educational investments were made before marriageable age (officially 18, among these families more realistically perceived as 15 or 16), and some struggled to enable their daughters' to even complete primary schooling. In these cases, schooling was seen in terms of helping a girl 'stand on her own feet' within whatever marriage could be arranged.

#### 7.1.2.3 Public-sphere employment

Although public-sphere employment (*always* conceptualised as office-based or professional work, and *never* labouring) was the most illusive of all potential returns to schooling, this return dominated interviews. Although most families expressed willingness for their daughters to work outside the home, 'contradiction' was quite marked: families expressed 'abstract' willingness for daughters to pursue public-sphere employment, but moved slightly back from these commitments when reflecting on their own daughter/s. Sagar families (with daughters closer to marriageable age) appeared more circumspect about employment returns, stating that the decision would ultimately be in the hands of in-laws. Many Vidya families were quite open to their daughters taking employment, and perhaps naïve about their chances of gaining it. Their attitudes may have been formed largely by their urban location, where more women were seen in clerical or professional posts. These families may have also been influenced by their lack of experience (of any family member) in pursuing, or doing, any such work.

Of the confident Vidya families, the contradictions in Mrs Prasad's responses had to be understood in terms of their application to her two very different daughters. She appeared optimistic about employment returns when discussing Sunanda, her gifted and extrovert younger daughter, but appeared to have never had educational aspirations for

Rewa, her eldest daughter. Reflecting on her own, younger sisters' schooling, she expressed cynical disappointment with marriage market returns to education.

In my family my sisters are educated but the husbands are illiterate, so what is the use of their education? We spent so much money on them. If they had studied just a bit more they could have got jobs. As it is, all they got was hopeless husbands. (Mrs Prasad-VC1B/VU13B).

This suggested that she felt it would have been preferable for her family to have defied convention and educated her sisters further, until they were able to get jobs, so they would not have had to depend on illiterate, 'hopeless' husbands. Mrs Prasad was a great 'joker', however, and her decisions and actions in relation to Rewa's life and schooling (as explored in Box 1 in Section 7.3.2 below) undermined her professed commitment to girls' education.

Reena Singh's father wondered how frustrating it could be if Reena's in-laws prevented her from working after studying so much, but decided Reena's schooling was still worthwhile. Like so many others, he emphasised the role of fate/luck in this outcome (I discuss this later) and insisted that he would make it his business to find Reena employment, after investing so much in her schooling. (She was, however, only in Standard 5 at this stage, and had never repeated a year, but he was already complaining about the escalating associated costs).

Ananya Nuikey's mother rarely talked about her daughter in the usual gendered terms, as someone whose future entailed subservience to in-laws. Dominating the interview while her husband lay ill with fever, she was proud of the seriousness of Ananya's desire to gain employment:

She told me she wants to join the police. She said 'I'll study as much as I can'. Yes. She's thinking about herself, that's really good. She's started to keep the fast of Devi Laxmi<sup>69</sup> to become an inspector. (Mrs Nuikey-VA8B).

Ananya was studying as best she could, but believed she also needed divine assistance to pursue her goals. Given the poor nutrition and domestic chores of many of these girls, the physical impact on performance of the weekly fast may have, however, counteracted any 'spiritual' advantage.

---

<sup>69</sup> The goddess of wealth.

At Sagar, Pratima's mother was aware of both employment possibilities for educated women and of the constraints on these opportunities, due to exploitation and corruption. She regretted the marriage decisions she had made for Pratima's older sisters, and said her main desire was that Pratima complete her studies, get a job and become independent<sup>70</sup>. She recognised, however, the potential problems in her plan, echoing Mrs Chaudri's reflections:

We're not very rich; we don't have any contacts. Because of these things we may not get a decent job, despite having the qualifications. (Mrs Singh-SC5C).

She was acutely aware of the lack of employment opportunities for women in villages, and the undermining impact this could have on girls' motivation to study. She had gained this awareness due to the failure of her second daughter to break into the private tuition business in Sagar, which was monopolised (and proudly so) by Lalit Varma.

The more economically stable the family, the greater their optimism concerning the possibility of their daughter finding work. This was not surprising, given that all families' conception of work was as professional or office-based occupations, which were dominated by the middle and upper classes. Sharmila Khorey's grandmother, with daughters and granddaughters in employment, recognised the motivational force of a genuine employment opportunity on their elder granddaughter's commitment to study.

The (private) school owner encourages us to educate her (to graduation), saying he'll then give her a teaching job. When our *bacchi* (daughter) hears this her confidence increases. She came in the vacation and declared that she wanted to study further, and we said fine. We have already chosen a match for her. We have told her, if the boy's family agrees, we will let her study for another three years. Otherwise, she can study after marriage. (Mrs Khorey Senior-SC12I).

Amongst the sample, this Khorey extended family enjoyed relative economic security and significant cultural and social capital, contributing to some of the highest educational and employment aspirations, and as the means to pursue them. (Interestingly, the private school owner referred was Lalit Varma, the man who provided tuition for the Standard 8 focus-class pupils, and had secured a monopoly over its provision in Sagar. Whilst the opportunity of working *for* him increased the motivation of one girl, the difficulty of competing *against* him weakened that of others.

---

<sup>70</sup> See Pratima's case-study below.

It was clear that girls needed not only academic skills and formal qualifications, but also those that would enable them to navigate competitive environments).

Meena Sahu's mother was optimistic about her daughter gaining employment after studies, even though it would be difficult. She admitted that her family had little experience of trying to get formal sector employment, however, so could not really anticipate what problems Meena might face.

Education makes girls' futures bright. ... Meena wants to go to college and then work; anywhere. She used to say that she wanted to be a soldier, now it's a doctor. I say she can study as much as she wants, but I don't understand what kind of difficulties may come up. We don't know anything, but we do know that getting a job is difficult. (Mrs Sahu-SC14I).

Rakhi Khorey's father was also confident about her chances of gaining employment, especially teaching (the preferred choice of Vidya and Sagar families). When I asked if he and his brother (with whom Rakhi would live in the neighbouring town) would be genuinely happy to let Rakhi work, his reply was surprised and animated:

Why wouldn't we be happy? If our daughter gets a job, her life will improve forever. We'll all be *so very* happy about it. (Mr Khorey-SC15I).

Lajwanti Chaudri's mother did not feel there would be any employment returns, not because the schooling was inadequate, but because employment demanded bribes. She was highly pragmatic, however, focussing on the everyday benefits that were within their control.

This education won't get her a job. That's difficult, only rich people who bribe get jobs. Many girls are highly educated ... but none get jobs. The only benefit is that she'll be able to read and write and manage small accounts. (Mrs Chaudri-SU16A).

Leela's father (SI17A) articulated the inverse of Mr Khorey's optimism: great pessimism and disappointment over *even* his sons' lack of success in finding secure employment, stressing the importance of bribes and contacts over qualifications. Given their frustrations, he cherished no hope for Leela's success.

When questioned about government reservations for women within teaching, families reported no knowledge of such schemes, but registered enthusiastic support for them.



Those who professed interested in their daughters' pursuing teaching careers said that knowledge of such schemes would have increased their ability to withstand extended family pressure to end their schooling, even if the schemes were embroiled in the bribery which was perceived to mire all public-sector employment. Other families said that if the problems of bribery and corruption could be overcome, they would be encouraged to educate their daughters further.

#### 7.1.2.4 A better life within marriage

Many families valued schooling as something that would make their daughters' married lives more comfortable, including by enabling them to adjust 'maturely' to living with in-laws; better manage their homes and accounts and be a 'better' mother.

Many mothers were convinced that schooling would enable daughters to be 'better mothers' than they themselves were and their references were regularly related to daughters being better able to teach their children, reducing the need to pay for tuition. From Vidya, Suman Gehlot's mother drew this frequently articulated comparison, framing the benefits of schooling in vague terms of preparation for marriage and motherhood.

I'm illiterate, otherwise I'd have taught her, then things would have been better. We'll at least teach her till Standard 8 and then she'll become intelligent for marriage. (Mrs Gehlot-VU11A).

From Sagar, Lajwanti Sahu's father (SC2A) also expressed confidence in education as a route to a better future for his children and grandchildren. Usha Chhalotrey's mother (SC8D) believed that education helps girls 'stand on their own feet', and that educated girls are better able to adjust to in-laws, and, even within villages, can use their education to enhance family resources. Meena's mother (SC14I) was convinced of the value of education, regardless of employment returns.

There are a lot of benefits. .... She can manage home accounts, read and write and not need anyone's help .... Even if she doesn't get a job she can guide her children better. I can't help my daughter in her study. Meena won't have this problem. She can teach her children and they won't need tuition. (Mrs Sahu-SC14I).

These families stressed the importance of maternal education in reducing the need to invest in children's tuition. In reality, however, even highly educated, cosmopolitan families throughout India felt the need to invest in tuition for their children, at all educational levels, to enhance success and grades in highly competitive employment markets.

#### 7.1.2.5 Indicative of social status

More families from Sagar than Vidya referred to the 'positional' value of schooling. These families saw education as a desirable 'social good', and felt that investment in their daughters schooling would either reflect or raise their social status.

From Vidya, Ananya Kaithwas' mother was determined to educate her daughter, because education was 'good': because 'everyone values education' (VA7A).

In comparing his wife and daughter, Mr Sahu, from Sagar, stressed how schooling enabled greater social skills and interaction across social hierarchies for Lajwanti.

Take Lajwanti's mother, she's not literate, see her behaviour? If she were, then she'd answer you confidently. But Lajwanti answers properly - she doesn't hesitate, her general knowledge is good – all this is due to her education. (Mr Sahu-SC2A).

Chitra's elder sister expanded on her mothers' self-expressed shame about being illiterate and echoed her opinion about the 'superior' social status of educated girls:

It's not that all boys are just after money. These days they want educated girls. How can a teacher or a doctor marry a Standard 5 pass? They want smart girls. (Ms Sahu-SC4B).

Her reflections echo the often-articulated assumption that those employed in the professions (who have to be educated) are 'more desirable' than those who are not.

Rakhi Khorey's grandfather articulated his perception of a direct correlation between social status, education, alcohol abuse and domestic violence.

It (violence) is very common in lower classes, but not amongst farmers. People in the labouring classes don't value education, they drink and beat up their wives. (Mr Khorey Senior-SC15I).

By this reference, made after assurance of family educational aspirations for Rakhi, her grandfather emphasised their higher status and the importance of avoiding marriage into little-educated, labouring families. (There was a *widespread* middle class assumption that alcoholism was acute among those who performed particularly exhausting or degrading labour, with alcohol used to dull physical pain and humiliations. Anecdotal evidence supported this position, yet the lives of the poorest were much more visible than those of the middle classes: numerous middle class men purchased their alcohol and drank in secret, hidden not only from wider society, but even from women in their households).

#### 7.1.2.6 A legitimate reason to delay marriage?

Whilst teachers and girls valued schooling as it delayed marriage, only two Sagar families referred to this. Mrs Sahu was determined that they would structure their plans for Meena's future firmly around her wishes, as their only and loved daughter. They did not set an age-limit to her studies, but insisted that even marriage could be delayed to enable her schooling to continue.

Nowadays every girl wants to study and I say she can study as much as she wants. We'll only marry her after she's finished her studies. If we marry her before that, maybe her husband or father-in-law will stop her education, and her wishes would be incomplete. (Mrs Sahu-SC14I).

Instead of suggesting, as many other families had, that they would look for a family who would allow their daughter to continue studying after marriage, Mrs Sahu felt nothing was assured once Meena left their family. She insisted that Meena could fulfil her educational desires before marriage.

She also insisted that they would consider Meena's opinion when selecting a groom.

If she doesn't like the boy we choose, it won't go ahead. She's our only daughter, everything's up to her. (Mrs Sahu-SC14I).

Mrs Sahu related both giving education and asking her daughter's opinion to the love they had for their daughter, which would lead them to resist local practice if need be.

Aruna Chhalotrey's mother reiterated this, but she expanded the correlation embedded within Mrs Sahu's response and made explicit the link between more education and

more participation in decision-making. More specifically, in the most important decision of a girl's life: that of her marriage partner.

If a girl studies up to Standard 12, her family will ask her opinion of the boy they're considering. (Mrs Chhalotrey-SC13I).

In these two cases, education was directly linked to increased autonomy and in decisions regarding girls' capabilities 'to lead the lives they have reason to value'.

Although this principle may have governed thinking in these two families, girls' interviews suggested the correlation between educational *aspiration* and willingness to ask a daughter's opinion was not reliably sustained. It seemed highly probable, however, that the more years a girl managed to stay in the education system, the more likely it would be that the *family* ascribed to norms encouraging more consultation with individuals. Either way, being consulted about one's marriage partner was a non-contestable autonomy gain.

### Section reflections

Whilst the data demonstrates families' educational aspirations for their daughters must be understood within a marriage framework, family concerns are much broader than simply preparing daughters to submit in their *sasural*. Families wanted their daughters' lives be better than theirs had been, wanted them to be able to 'stand on their own feet', and believed that gaining competencies through schooling would help them achieve these objectives. These numerous reasons for valuing schooling were desired returns, however, most of which they recognised as being dependent on the achievement of more than eight years' schooling, rendering family desire for daughters' further schooling the central issue. The next section explores the factors shaping family educational aspirations and practices.

## 7.2 Factors shaping family educational aspirations and practices

Given the often-repeated demonstration of macro-level correlations between socio-economic position and increasing investment in education in general and girls' education in particular, exploration of factors contributing to families' positions on the aspirational continuum started by focussing on income.

### 7.2.1 Income-aspiration correlations?

Following this principle, a straightforward income/aspiration correlation would have shown higher income families as the most 'confident', and lowest income ones the most 'indifferent', with this pattern becoming increasingly pronounced with progress up the schooling 'ladder'.

The data suggested two patterns, one substantiating this correlation as a *broad* trend, the other showing that, once a family was past a minimum 'per capita' income threshold, other factors were as important as income.

The first pattern was that average incomes of Sagar girls' families were greater than those of Vidya girls, whilst boys' families' average incomes were less than those of girls in both classes (See Appendix 15, Table 4)<sup>71</sup>. The second was that, within these macro parameters, a direct income-aspiration correlation was not sustained, as illustrated in Table 5 at the start of the chapter. In this table, girls' families are presented according to aspirational groups, with income group, IG, to the right: it is evident that there was a wide range of income groups within each aspirational category.

Four urban (Vidya) families from 'Income Group D' felt undermined before the completion of primary school, whilst six lower-income rural families (Groups A, B and C) had educated their daughters for eight years and were confident about further schooling.

The fact that none of the Vidya families, however, but five Sagar ones were 'indifferent' to continued schooling underlined the *desire* for more than five years' schooling and the assumption of eight years as a 'sufficient' minimum. Given this assumption, post-primary aspirations should have exceeded post-middle school ones. But the quality of education offered (a correlation brought out by triangulated of all data) by each school had clear impacts on family aspiration. In contrast to the expected pattern, only 22% of

---

<sup>71</sup> It was regularly suggested only girls from higher socio-economic groups progressed to middle school, and that many of those enrolled in private schools returned to the state system for the middle stage. Although this was not the case in either focus-class, it may have been had a broader study been conducted incorporating all government and private provision in the sample area.

Vidya families, compared to 75% of Sagar ones were confident about their daughters' continuing schooling prospects.

The two fundamental requirements for positive aspirations and sustained schooling investments were thus family income *and* school quality which *both* exceeded a minimum 'threshold'.

In addition to these two main factors, the number of children per family, the number of daughters among those children, and the age/s of the daughter/s in question had a significant influence on family aspirations. Families with fewer children, fewer daughters and daughters who were the youngest tended to have higher aspirations and make more investments for them. Whilst sibling data was used to highlight general patterns, it was not possible to use it for extended analysis as family and pupils' reporting of children's ages, educational histories and present status was occasionally contradictory.

The significance of income and school quality thresholds increased with a girl's age and progress (or otherwise) up the educational 'ladder'. Many Vidya families, even of lower incomes, persisted with their daughters' primary schooling, almost despite its inferior quality, but this was unlikely to be the case after Standard 5. This was because families had numerous concerns related to the continued schooling of adolescent daughters, and it is to these that the thesis now turns.

### 7.2.2 Broader family concerns and conditions for continued schooling

Families of adolescent girls in the two classes had four criteria to be satisfied if a daughter's schooling were to continue. The most fundamental, non-negotiable requirement was that nothing associated with attending school should compromise a girl's sexual or reputational safety. The second was that she must be academically successful, not only in terms of annual progression and certification at the transitional board exams, but also in terms of genuine, recognisable competency. The third was that she demonstrated not only a desire, but also a determination, to stay in school and study. The final requirement was that schooling should not make her too independent or resistant to family aspirations, norms or traditions. The strictness with which this last

condition was applied tended to depend, however, on the extent to which the first three were satisfied.

#### 7.2.2.1 'Reputational' safety

There were various components of the problems of schooling and girls' 'virtue'. These included physical issues of school, class, tuition and home environments, the route to school/tuition, and girls' behaviour in these environments. The most basic prerequisite for a safe school/classroom was the presence of a teacher wherever pupils were gathered. Numerous pupil testimonies of teacher absence described threatening environments where some boys intimidated, threatened or teased girls and bullied other boys.

The second 'layer' of safety included the girls' home environment and her route to and from school. Family resources were often correlated with the degree of safety that could be guaranteed within the neighbourhood and on the way to school. Urban girls from the lowest-income, nuclear families with both parents working long hours as labourers, faced the greatest challenges to their reputational/sexual safety. Such families from Vidya lived in rented accommodation, away from relatives, with little sense of community with neighbours. Families' concern about their daughter's vulnerability to sexual advances from neighbourhood boys or men, especially in non-school time when both parents were out, caused considerable tension. If there was no one trusted to oversee her during these times, many parents judged it safer to withdraw her from school. She could then accompany her mother to work and be married as soon as possible, before what was deemed inevitable happened: through force or attraction, her 'virtue' was 'destroyed', and with it her chances of a respectable and comfortable marriage.

The length and features of a girl's route to school were also significant. The further a girl had to travel, the more 'dubious' neighbourhoods she had to cross and the greater her reliance on public transport, the greater the potential of harassment. The poorest Vidya girls, even those with mothers at home, were the most likely to face risks on school journeys. Higher income families lived in areas that were often better served by nearby schools, and when they did not, many families had strategies to minimise

problems: purchasing bicycles and insisting that girls rode to school together; arranging an escort or transport; or sending daughters to live with relatives with a nearby school.

The third feature of a girl's school experience that influenced familial enthusiasm for her school attendance was the nature of the class environment and the type of boy-girl interaction teachers allowed and/or encouraged or discouraged. Regardless of girls' performance, family support was undermined by boy's educational failure. Boys' alienation from inadequate schooling was reflected in their behaviour in and outside school, which included truancy. This not only affected girls' success, as they found such environments intimidating and unruly behaviour drew time from learning processes, but the impact on school image undermined family willingness to send their daughters to school. Parents' concern that nothing about the school/learning environment encouraged children to challenge family notions of appropriate behaviour between girls and boys also posed challenges for teachers wishing to encourage more egalitarian interactions. The emphasis placed on these requirements reduced, however, as the quality of school and teachers rose.

#### 7.2.2.2 Academic success

Whilst the stage of schooling a girl reached was important in securing a better quality of in-laws, the actual learning she acquired was the only resource she could *guarantee* to keep with her after marriage. Families were thus as interested in girls developing competencies through schooling as they were in final certification. Certification, regardless of competence, was considered important for employment and obtaining loans, and viewed as more crucial for sons. (This concern, albeit positive, resulted in gendered processes whereby parents appeared more willing to bribe for exam passes for 'failing' sons than for daughters, who were more regularly withdrawn).

All families were influenced by girls' response to school and schooling. Rashmi's father explained their educational investments as determined by their children's desire to study and academic success.

The girl is good but the boy doesn't seem to understand anything. So she can study as far as she wants – we'll teach her. Even if we have to pay more dowry, we'll teach her as far as possible. (Mr Dohar-VU14C).



The fathers of Aradhna and Anu echoed this commitment, but underlined that daughters had to be learning something for attendance to be worthwhile. After 6 years of education and repetition of Standard 5, Aradhna and Anu could barely read or write.

We can teach her as far as she wants, but she has to learn *something*. I've no problem if she learns and moves up, but if she stays in 8<sup>th</sup> class for 8 years then I *do* have problems. (Mr Khan-VU17C).

Sudha, Rani and Kanchan Kaithwas' mother valued schooling, but made it clear that the girls were not progressing well at school.

They can study as far as they want. I'd like them to study till metric or college, but they should also have the brains to do it. (Mrs Kaithwas-VU19, 20 and 21D).

She felt that it would be difficult for them to carry on, largely due to the financial burden of her husband's chest problem.

Most Vidya families of 'appropriately aged' girls were insistent that they would try and keep their daughters in school even if they failed at Standard 5, but this changed dramatically for five much older Vidya girls, and almost all Sagar ones. By this stage, families where daughter's academic performance was weak acknowledged that they would withdraw them if they failed upcoming board exams.

Academic success, however, was often more demanding for girls as they had less encouragement at home. Unlike male relatives, if a girl appeared indifferent to school or overwhelmed by its challenges, she received little encouragement to persist. Even those with educated elder sisters reported no encouragement from them.

Superficially, it appeared that family encouragement might have been unnecessary for girls, as most seemed studious, self-regulated and persistent. (Teachers also tended to see girls in this way, and boys as more 'careless'). But family encouragement was actually vital: given the difficulty of the curriculum and the numerous demands on girls' time, not many girls were deeply self-regulated. Thirteen Vidya pupils (those with 'undermined' families) demonstrated no self-regulation, families did not support the studying strategies of the other nine Vidya girls, nor of seven Sagar girls. The few Vidya girls and the majority of Sagar girls who were self-regulated attended tuition (in itself indicative of family support) and were the most academically successful.

### 7.2.2.3 Desire and determination to study

Families also explained educational investments as a straightforward response to daughters' desires. If it appeared that a girl was genuinely committed to her schooling, that her happiness depended on her being allowed to continue, and that she balanced domestic tasks with serious studying, parents were more inclined to persist in her education. Where daughters were indifferent, however, families tended to be also.

Of the confident Vidya families, Mrs Prasad insisted that education had many benefits, but she stressed that she sent her daughters to school, as they liked learning<sup>72</sup>. Also, although Ananya Nuikey's parents alluded to the tasks Ananya would have to perform after marriage, their justification for her education was in terms of responding to her strong desires. Aruna Kaithwas' mother insisted she would study further than anyone else in the family, whilst she was determined to do so.

She keeps telling me 'You all must let me study as far as I want, don't stop me'. It *all* depends on her. If she wants to study we will support her. (Mrs Kaithwas-VC5E).

Aruna was not an outstandingly gifted child, but with such support, which included a willingness to send her to tuition, it was likely that she would be able to succeed despite her primary schooling.

From Sagar, Lajwanti Sahu's mother expressed similar sentiments about responding to her daughter's desires.

If the girl wants to study, we have to send her to school. She says she wants to study - to Standard 12. She told me 'You didn't study, why are you preventing me?' So it depends on her. I'd never stop her. (Mrs Sahu-SC2A).

Sharmila's grandmother insisted that her granddaughters should study as far as they want.

It's up to their inner will. We can't stop them; we should provide whatever gives them happiness. (Mrs Khorey Senior-SC12A).

Families with greater resources were best placed to indulge their daughters' wishes for education, whereas the lowest income ones were highly constrained in their response,

---

<sup>72</sup> See boxed case-study below.

even more so by persistent academic failure, which was aggravated by inability to pay for tuition.

As Sagar was a village, families were more aware of other's lives. The high demand for, and uptake of, school and tuition became a 'peer issue', impacting positively on the educational chances of girls whose families may have been less inclined to pursue their education and/or tuition. Echoing Rakhi's mother, Aruna's stressed the knock-on peer effect of girl's friends going to tuition. Girls whose families were less enthusiastic about schooling and tuition exploited this situation, citing friends permitted to do whatever was under debate.

There was another, less positive side to this stress on girls' pleasure and determination. Most family responses reiterated powerlessness in relation to girls' futures, in contrast to some agency in relation to boys' futures, often explained by reference to 'fate'. 'Fate' was a complex notion, and used more to explain when things went wrong than to determine priorities and behaviours, and education was seen to give fate 'a helping hand'. This sense of agency versus fate may have had its roots in parental optimism/pessimism regarding offspring's futures, but it influenced and gendered interactions between families and children. Considerable efforts were made to make boys *want* to study and be successful, regardless of personal inclinations. They were counselled about how education would improve their future lives, to invest their youth in (often uninspiring, laborious and sometimes apparently meaningless) study and to delay gratification. If a girl's school performance was poor, parents' repeated refrain was that 'It's her fate'. If she did not want to remain in school, they said 'It's her wish'. Girls were less encouraged, counselled and freed to study than boys, yet they had to show more enjoyment and determination to even remain in school alongside them. 'Fate' was thus a clearly gendered phenomenon.

#### 7.2.2.4 'Contained' autonomy

Families' final condition related to the impact of schooling on girls' aspirations and identities. In direct contrast to state gender agendas, parents appeared to *not* want their daughters to become too independent, autonomous or aspirational. They wanted them to remember the future lives to which, families believed, girls had no option but to accept and adjust.

Girls received constant subtle (sometimes explicit and aggressive) messages that their first responsibilities were domestic, that marriage was a non-negotiable and that 'good families' would not want take a second look at a confident, independent or questioning girl. One of the most repeated family explanations for limited educational aspirations was that they did not want her 'to become too clever': too clever to submit to family, husband or in-laws.

Ananya Nuikey's mother was proud of Ananya's determination to study, but kept emphasising that she had to think of future domestic responsibilities.

She wants to study, she tells me 'Don't bother me so much' so she can study. If we tell her to do some housework she gets irritated, runs away and cries. Then we say 'It's alright - both are necessary, house work as well as studies, so try to do both'. (Mrs Nuikey-VA8B).

Given these concerns, the high educational interest of many Standard 8 girls might have caused tensions and resentment at home, especially as most devoted up to nine hours daily to studies (5 at school and 3 to 4 at tuition), conflicting with time available for domestic work and learning the skills deemed necessary for marriage. This did not appear to be so. When mothers complained about daughters' prioritising of academic over domestic tasks, it was expressed with pride, apparently in their daughters' 'modernity': their commitment, motivation and discipline. Saroj's mother appeared to complain about her daughter's disobedience:

She's different, not like I was - I used to obey my parents. Whenever I tell her to work, she doesn't. She always wants to study, so she does less housework. (Mrs Sahu-SC1A).

But she was using the story of Saroj's hard work and determination, and beaming proudly as she related it. Rakhi's mother argued that she took the burden of housework from her daughter: as Rakhi was determined to succeed educationally, her mother wanted to do all that she could to facilitate it.

She works barely for an hour a day. Sometimes, if I ask her to help me in my work, she says that she has so much homework to do. (Mrs Khorey-SC15I).

This prioritising of school over housework was not, in these cases, presented as indicative of girls becoming too rebellious.

Most girls cast doubts on the reliability of their mothers' statements, however, insisting that some domestic tasks always took precedence over schoolwork, and that those who neglected them for schoolwork were scolded as disobedient and disrespectful, and threatened with withdrawal from tuition or school. But these achieving girls also said that they did not take these threats too seriously. It appeared that if the first three family criteria were met, parents were more tolerant of some (contained) display of independence. This was a clear autonomy gain.

### Section reflections

The two fundamental requirements for positive schooling aspirations and practices were income and school quality exceeding a minimum 'threshold'. If family resources and school provision were above these thresholds, families had four criteria for continued school attendance: associated with girls' 'reputational' safety, academic success, personal determination and 'contained' autonomy. These factors became more significant the further a girl progressed up the schooling ladder, with their first marked rise on progression from primary to middle school. If the first three conditions were satisfied, however, and a daughter demonstrated that she upheld central family values, families tolerated a degree of independent thinking.

## 7.3 'Virtuous and vicious' circles: aspirations, practices and outcomes

Having investigated income-quality-aspiration correlations and illustrated the four main schooling criteria of families with adolescent girls, I now present 'virtuous or vicious' cycles of family aspiration, practice and outcome. The section starts with three tables: the first outlines factors impacting positively on family aspiration and persistence, the second outlines factors impacting negatively, and the final one synthesises the main factors that encouraged or discouraged educational aspiration for each family.

### 7.3.1 Tabular representations

There are seven 'types' of factor shaping family aspirations: family livelihood; family education; family features; school quality; learner factors; the marriage market and 'Others'. Table 6 (below) outlines factors that encouraged higher aspiration and persistence; Table 7 outlines those that had the opposite impact. Each table is laid out

as a 7x4 matrix, with the columns representing factor groups and the rows, different factors in each group. Although not essentially hierarchical, there is an *element* of progression in the rows. Factors in the early rows are the most immediately apparent and logical, whilst those in Row 4 may not be immediately apparent, and may sometimes be counter-intuitive. Factors could also be compensatory or counteractive across both tables.

**Table 6: Factors impacting positively on family aspiration/persistence**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Family education</i>	<i>Family features</i>	<i>School quality</i>	<i>Learner issues</i>	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Others</i>
1	Higher income. Earning, unmarried offspring contributing earnings. Less-poor/non-poor, supportive relatives.	Higher parental/family literacy.	Mother at home. Safe neighbourhood. No family members seriously sick or with special needs.	Nearby school of adequate/good quality.	Girl academically successful. No years repeated.	Higher educational achievement and educational expectations of wife in community from which groom will be selected.	Any particularly determined and powerful relative (usually female, usually with adult children) living in the household.
2	Neither, but definitely not mother, daily wage labourers.	Educated relatives. Relatives, especially women, who have benefited from education.	Extended family with supportive, trustworthy people at home who can supervise daughter and share domestic tasks.	Physically/sexually safe school environment and journey to school. No cases of 'affairs' at school.	Girl motivated, self-monitoring and determined to stay in school. But never challenges family perspectives or aspirations.	Eagerness of group from which in-laws will be selected to have a 'working wife' (not labouring).	Girl sent to live in family with a doting relative (as described above).
3	Benefit from reservation policies for SC/ST and/or SC/ST women.	Supportive, educated elder sister/s at home who insist on schooling.	Few children, few daughters, daughter in question youngest.	Affordable, good tuition, where many girls go and reputation protected.	Girls at or under appropriate age for Standard.	Girl looks and acts young.	
4	Lack of experience of anyone having, or experiencing difficulty in getting, any regular, non-daily wage job.	Lack of parental education, so naivety in aspirations for transformation it can bring.	Strong mother who, regardless of education, is prepared to stand up to indifferent or oppositional husband.	Teachers' attitudes on boy/girl interaction assumed to reflect familial ones.	Sons' rebelliousness and lack of success. If all like this parents more willing to invest in a determined and achieving daughter.	Girl appears genuinely repulsed by the notion of friendship with boys.	Woman's experience of being disappointed by male support. Bad husband, fathers, sons or in-laws. Desertion by, or death of, husband.

In both tables, the intersection of Column A and Row 1 (A1) represents access to resources, and D1 school quality. Limited family resources would be indicated by

shading A1 in Table 7, the negative matrix, but this could be counteracted by neither parent, especially not the mother, being a daily wage labourer (A2 in Table 6, the positive matrix); or family experience of benefit from SC/ST reservation policies (A3 in Table 6); or even the lack of experience of anyone having, or having difficulty getting, employment in the formal sector (A4 in Table 6).

**Table 7: Factors impacting negatively on family aspiration/persistence**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	<i>Income/ occupation</i>	<i>Family education</i>	<i>Family features</i>	<i>School/ quality</i>	<i>Learner issues</i>	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Others</i>
1	Low income. Poor relatives.	Low parental literacy.	Mother daily wage labourer. Threatening neighbourhood.	Lack of nearby school. School recognised to be of poor quality.	Girl failing and repeating years, especially significant if later ones.	Lower educational achievement and educational expectations of wife in community from which groom will be selected.	Particularly difficult (unusually so) circumstances.
2	Both daily wage labourers. Threatening neighbourhood. No one at home to help, supervise or protect daughter.	Poorly educated relatives.	No one trustworthy at home to help, supervise or protect daughter. Or extended family where parents-in-law oppose girls' education.	Girls' exposed to sexual threat and opportunity to interact unsupervised with boys. Rumours or cases of 'affairs' associated with school.	Girl poorly motivated, not vigilant about studies, does not resist familial indifference.	Increased dowry required for educated boy (But this only affects the poorest. Others insist it is not a disincentive).	Either parent died or a parent or sibling (severely, expensively) physically or mentally sick. Acute and/or violent alcoholism.
3	Disadvantaged by reservation policies for SC/ST and/or SC/ST women.	Educated female relatives deemed to have not reaped benefit: neither in competency, marriage nor employment terms.	Many children, or many daughters, daughter in question eldest.	Unable to find/pay for good tuition, or environment of tuition is deemed unsafe.	Girls over appropriate age for Standard.	Girl looks older than she is. Appears 'romantic' and 'wistful' to her family.	Very restrictive, jealous, aggressive husband or in-laws. Very timid wife/mother.
4	Experience of difficulty in anyone getting employment returns to educational investment.		Significant rows with extended family, severed relationships etc.	Teachers' attitudes on boy/girl interaction assumed too liberal.	Girl is perceived to be 'becoming too clever': resisting parental perspectives and neglecting domestic work.	Girl involved in friendship/relationship.	Girl is a relative, not an immediate daughter.

School quality (column D) is more problematic, as nothing seemed to compensate for absence of adequate and safe schools. The inverse was also true: the presence of a functioning and safe school, evidence of actual learning and high pupil motivation (D1 to D3 in Table 6), could counteract the presence of numerous factors in the negative matrix (Table 7). Table 8 below draws on the factors presented in Tables 6 and 7, synthesising, for each family, the main factors that encouraged or discouraged educational aspiration. The left-hand section relates to Vidya families, the right to Sagar: all by family aspirational group.

**Table 8: Families' educational aspirations**

Vidya - post-Standard 5 aspirations								Sagar – post-Standard 8 aspirations							
Girls		C	IG	QR	A	F	G	Girls		C	IG	7R	A	F	G
<b>Family – ‘Confident’</b>								<b>Family – ‘Confident’</b>							
VC1B	Sunanda Prasad (S)	OBC	B	4	13	0	P	SC1A	Saroj Sahu	OBC	A	10	14	4	P
VC2C	Priya Gehlot	SC	C	16	10?	0	P	SC2A	Lajwanti Sahu	OBC	A	4	14	3	P
VC3C	Shobha Gehlot	SC	C	25	10	0	P	SC3A	Jagruti Sahu	OBC	A	44	15	3	P
VC2C	Reena Singh	G	C	2	12	0	P	SC4B	Chitra Sahu	OBC	B	9	13	0	P
VC5E	Aruna Kaithwas	SC	E	39	11	5	P	SC5C	Pratima Singh	G	C	21	12?	0	P
<b>Family – ‘Aspirational’</b>								SC6C	Kanchan Gourey	SC	C	5	16	3	P
VA6A	Sujata Khorey	OBC	A	48	12	5	P	SC7D	Alka Khorey	OBC	D	41	16	5	P
VA7A	Ananya Kaithwas	SC	A	8	11	0	P	SC8D	Usha Chhalotrey	OBC	D	25	12?	0	P
VA8B	Ananya Nuikey	SC	B	29	10	0	P	SC9E	Lekha Sutar	OBC	E	17	13	0	P
VA9B	Sujata Saini	OBC	B	11	12	0	P	SC10F	Anamika Khorey	OBC	F	2	12?	0	P
<b>Family – ‘Undermined’</b>								SC11F	Madhuri Sarvan	SC	F	11	13	0	P
VU10A	Bina Phurvi	ST	A	46	12	5	U	SC12I	Sharmila Khorey	OBC	I	33	13	0	P
VU11A	Suman Gehlot	SC	A	n/a	11	4	U	SC13I	Aruna Chhalotrey	OBC	I	18	13	0	P
VU12A	Damini Gehlot	SC	A	32	12	4	U	SC14I	Meena Sahu	OBC	I	24	13	3	P
VU13B	Rewa Prasad (S)	OBC	B	7	15	0	*1 U	SC15I	Rakhi Khorey	OBC	I	16	12?	0	P
VU14C	Rashmi Dohar	SC	C	34	11?	1&5	C	<b>Family – ‘Undermined’</b>							
VU15C	Parul Kaithwas	SC	C	40	14	5x2	U	SU16A	Lajwanti Chaudri	SC	A	28	16	0	U
VU16C	Aradhna Uikey	ST	C	45	13	5	U	<b>Family – ‘Indifferent’</b>							
VU17C	Anu Khan	M-OBC	C	51	12	5	U	SI17A	Leela Rehlot	SC	A	38	15	4	R
VU18C	Kamini Kalsi	S-OBC	C	50	12	5	U	SI18A	Damini Sutar	OBC	A	29	14	0	U
VU19D	Kanchan Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	18	13	0	*2 C	SI19C	Kanchan Banwar	OBC	C	n/a	15	5	T
VU20D	Rani Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	31	11	0	*2 C	SI20G	Bali Singh	G	G	34	13?	0	T
VU21D	Sudha Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	21	11	0	*2 C								
VU22D	Damini Chandel	G	D	n/a	11	5	U								



From left to right, the columns for each family refer to: daughter's name; caste (G-General Caste, M-Muslim, S-Sikh); family income group (IG); daughter's rank in recent exams (QR or 7R)<sup>73</sup>; girl's age (A)<sup>74</sup>; her own schooling aspirations (G – from 'positive', 'confused', 'undermined' and 'resistant' to 'emotionally torn') and the number of academic years repeated (F). (S) indicates that a girl has one or more sisters in the class, and girls in shaded boxes were married within a year of the end of fieldwork.

The following section elaborates on the syntheses in Table 8. The discussion follows the order in which families appear in the table (and on the bookmark).

### 7.3.2 Case by case elaboration

Of the five Vidya families 'confident' about their daughter's further education, three (those of Priya, Shobha and Reena) were inspired by a combination of their financial security and their daughter's success (judged by position in school exams and never having repeated a year). The family of Sunanda, with the least resources in this group, was encouraged by her effortless academic ability. Aruna, the only poorly-performing girl, appeared to be the treasured 'baby' from a less-poor family, with earning brothers and an older mother who was determined to invest energy in Aruna's success. These families either had achieving daughters, sufficient resources and/or support networks to render their aspirations realistic.

The material realities of 'aspirational' Vidya families rendered their educational commitments astonishing. The major reason for the aspirations of three families (those of Ananya Kaithwas and Nuikey and Sujata Saini) was academic performance, particularly the fact that no girl had repeated a year. Sujata Khorey's performance was weak and she was repeating Standard 5, but her mother (whose husband was in prison), like that of Ananya Kaithwas (who reported domestic violence) was determined to do anything to ensure Sujata's life was better than hers. Ananya Nuikey's parents were both daily wage labourers, but Ananya was not only intelligent and belligerent about school, but appeared adored and indulged at home. Given her relative success despite what was referred to as the 'worthless' education at Vidya, her mother was determined

<sup>73</sup> Standard 5 rank is out of 55 pupils, Standard 8 out of 50.

<sup>74</sup> The 'appropriate' age for Standard 5 was 10 to 11, that for Standard 8 was 14 to 15. Four Standard 8 girls were registered as 12, 2 years under the 'correct' age. If this is correct, they must have enrolled in primary school, at 4, not 6, with false birth-dates, then enrolled in middle school with the correct dates.

to make every effort to keep her in school. Sujata Saini's mother, although widowed and working for daily wages, had an earning son who supported the family. Her experiences had made her believe that education was even more important for girls than it was for boys. All but Sujata Khorey's family were encouraged by their daughters' success, although all had minimal resources and support networks.

The reasons for the 'undermined' attitudes of the majority (thirteen) of Vidya girls' families were clear: nine girls had repeated at least one class and seemed to be learning nothing, despite regular promotion to the next class. Of the four girls who had not repeated, the performance of Rewa was promising, but hers was a very particular case.

**Box 1: Rewa Prasad's story. (VU13B)** Rewa was not only 15, but she looked her age and out of place alongside girls up to five years her junior. When I met her mother, a friendly, humorous and brash woman living in challenging conditions, I heard that, as a child, Rewa had been 'given' to her aunt, who failed to send her to school. Rewa was brought home and enrolled in school, but the family 'gave in' to pressures to arrange her marriage, and Rewa had moved to her in-laws, where she reported such bad treatment that she was brought home and re-enrolled at primary school. The embarrassment of studying alongside children, when she had already lived an adult life, resentment at her parents and a high domestic burden at home caused numerous absences: both Rewa and her mother had both given up on any aspirations for further schooling. (I return to Rewa's perspective in Chapter 10).

The only other non-repeaters with promising performance were the three Kaithwas sisters. Their family income was among the top three, but their father's persistent chest problems had led to personal and job insecurity and years of high medical fees. Family aspirations were also depressed by the fact that they had five daughters for whom dowry would have to be provided. (This was the only family who made any reference to the discouraging impact of having to pay higher dowry for more educated grooms, and this was only obliquely). The eldest, Sudha, old for her class and uncomfortable at school, sought out older girls and together, they distanced themselves from the 'children' who were their classmates. Her irregular attendance was explained by reference to ill health,<sup>75</sup> but it was compounded by a weekly fast 'for a better future and a good husband'. She and her family appeared to have more faith in the returns to this than to school attendance.

Not only interview responses, but also *most* Sagar family data demonstrated the positive impact of schooling deemed 'adequate'. Fifteen of the twenty Sagar girls' families were

---

<sup>75</sup> Ill-health, poor knowledge/advice and abysmal government facilities were major, persistent problems for many girls.

'confident' about their daughters' post-middle school prospects, despite the fact that they would have to buy bicycles and the girls would have to cycle 10 kilometres daily along a dangerous state highway, passing two neighbourhoods that families deemed unsafe. These families were obviously not the most poor of the village (whose daughters had been 'pushed out' after primary schooling), and their relative affluence enabled them to sustain the multiple hidden costs (and bribes) that increased with each year of schooling. Their relative 'affluence' also pushed them to aspire for higher levels of education, increasingly seen as a marker of social position. The 'confident' group was disparate, however, spanning nine income groups, with monthly incomes ranging from Rs 1,200 to Rs 8,200. All but three of the girls with 'confident' families were doing well at school, ranking in the top half of the class in terms of assessed performance (assessment results in Sagar were generally more valid than those of Vidya).

Of the three doing less well (all repeaters) Jagruti Sahu's resource-poor parents were urged on by their wider family, and Sharmila and Alka's families were more educated and prosperous. All but five of the girls had never repeated a class. The five repeaters (three of whom were in the lowest income group) shared many features that functioned to counteract the discouragement that may have come from failure or low income. They were from one kinship group (all Sahu), all parents had some schooling, they were encouraged in their aspirations by wider family, and they appeared to be going through particularly bad situations, which were temporary, rather than the norm. Kanchan Gourey (from another kinship group) had failed once and was growing up in a very complex (potentially negative) family environment, but the fact that she was obviously gifted and not only determined to study further, but also to do and sacrifice anything to be able to do so, exerted considerable pressure on her mother. The significance of these girls' previous failures was also minimised by families as they occurred during the primary stage and were explained by reference to external factors.

Of all families from both schools, one stood out as a unique case: that of Pratima Singh. Pratima's family were of general-caste background, in a village dominated by OBC Gujar, Dalits and a few Brahmin families.

**Box 2: Pratima Singh's family story. (SC5C)** Pratima mother was determined that she would sacrifice and stand up to village pressure in order to educate Pratima as far as possible, to delay her marriage until she had a job and allow her to choose her husband. As I asked Mrs Singh why she felt so strongly, she was visibly upset, but insisted that we continue, and explained her story. She had three daughters, and a son with learning disabilities. Both her elder daughters had been married, but her eldest had committed suicide at her *sasural*, news that was callously delivered by them over the telephone. Her second daughter, belittled and humiliated by her in-laws, was ultimately rejected and sent home, as she was deemed unable to 'provide' children. She was now living in Nakuur with relatives, training to be a computer teacher. Already a graduate, she had tried to offer tuition in Sagar, but was unable to break into Lalit Varma's powerful monopoly. In addition to this suffering, Pratima's father did not return from a trip to market, and the family still had no idea of his whereabouts. Mrs Singh was left to provide for her family in a village where she felt isolated and ridiculed. She felt that she had ruined the lives of her two eldest daughters, and would not do the same for Pratima. She was, however, isolated in these aspirations, and gained no support from the local community, or wider family. She seemed distraught.

The one 'undermined' Sagar family and the two 'indifferent' ones were in the lowest income group and were facing particularly difficult circumstances. Both Lajwanti Chaudri's parents were illiterate and daily wage labourers, leaving early in the morning and returning after 6 pm, when it was almost dark. Lajwanti was the eldest of four children, and whilst her schooling in the village could be structured around caring for siblings, this would be impossible if she were to progress to Nakuur. Furthermore, the family were Chamars (whose traditional occupation was the removal of dead animals and the tanning of hides) one of the three Dalit jatis still excluded by, and reviled within, the village. They had neither family nor community support for their aspirations.

Like Lajwanti, both of Damini Sutar's parents were illiterate, and her father worked for small return at a nearby brick kiln. Damini's father was the only parent who did not want to meet me to discuss his daughter and her schooling. Unlike Lajwanti, Damini's mother was not able to counter her father's indifference with aspirations for her daughters' education: she was mentally unwell; the butt of village jokes and pity. Leela was another special case: her father had 'renounced the world' and income-earning potential and become a priest for the village Dalit community. He expressed no interest in educating Leela further, or in allowing his wife to express her opinions during our conversations. Deeper exploration revealed other discouraging factors, however, the primary one being the failure of any of their sons to get employment, reportedly due to inability to pay requisite bribes.

The last two girls (Kanchan and Bali), whose families were 'indifferent' despite comfortable incomes, were living with older, married siblings who had their own school-going offspring (very different from Sharmila, who lived with her grandmother with her own educated daughters). Both girls appeared unhappy, missed home and appeared disengaged from learning processes. Instead of talking of efforts to understand and help these girls overcome their insecurities, their relatives said they accepted the girls' disinterest and were ready to send them home after the board exams. (Pressures from natal and residential homes would have been greater had they been boys, but boys rarely needed to live with relatives for middle school education, as their parents allowed them to travel further unaccompanied).

In the year following the fieldwork, Jagruti Sahu, Lajwanti Chaudri, Damini Sutar and Kanchan Banwar were married. This did not necessarily contradict family aspirations articulated during interviews, as the girls may have continued their education (I was unable to obtain this information) and as the families of the last three had admitted that they had few post-Standard 8 plans.

### Section reflections

This section has illustrated the complex interplay of factors encouraging or discouraging families' educational aspirations for their daughters, their practices and the outcomes in terms of girls continued schooling.

## 7.4 Conclusions and connections

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of family educational aspirations and investments for their daughters. Families valued schooling, for their daughters as well as their sons, and had many reasons for doing so. Whilst aspirations for daughters were gendered and shaped by marriage considerations, these were secondary to families' primary objective, which was to secure a better future for their daughters. Securing the 'best possible' marriage was deemed the most significant contribution to this goal, but families also wanted to prepare daughters for public-sphere employment and to 'stand on her own two feet', both within any marriage that could be arranged and if that marriage ended for any reason. Many families, from those who could afford to do so, also felt that investing in their daughters' education enhanced their social status in the

community, whilst some even felt that keeping their daughters in school would enable them to resist pressure to arrange their marriages, either from husbands, extended family members or the local community.

Although income and occupational activities influenced family aspirations, beyond a basic threshold, school-based factors became more significant. Families had four criteria for their daughters' continued schooling, related to physical and reputational safety, academic achievement, demonstration of desire and determination to study, and apparent acceptance of family norms and values. If these criteria were met, families' fragile aspirations were encouraged, rather than undermined. This happened in Sagar throughout all fieldwork phases: in Vidya, however, this 'virtuous circle' was strong in Phases 1 and 2, but undermined in Phase 3.

The next chapter explores the environments of Vidya and Sagar schools, exploring school-based factors affecting aspiration and identity and providing contextual background for the exploration of classroom processes in Chapter 9.

## Chapter 8      Vidya and Sagar: teachers and school regimes

This chapter focuses on Vidya and Sagar schools and all 24 teachers. I start with a presentation of the three ‘categories of practice’ – the styles of teacher engagement with teaching and learning processes, then explore teachers’ gender ‘rhetoric’ and their more complex gender practices within staff gender regimes. The following section presents teachers’ professed aspirations for government school pupils, then explores teachers’ often classed and caste-based ‘othering’ of these pupils. I illustrate how unconscious gender-bias, even in the classes of two of the three most engaged Vidya teachers led to the selection of Deepak as the focus-class teacher. I end with a synthesis of the returns to schooling for pupils of both schools, illustrating why, in this context, these could only be measured using enrolment data and informed estimates of attendance. The chapter focuses on the experiences of, and influences on, all children from the two schools (boys as well as girls), rather than just those of the focus-classes. (The practices and classroom regimes of the six focus-class teachers/tutors are explored in the following chapter).

### 8.1      Three categories of teacher practice

This chapter begins with an exploration of teachers’ engagement with teaching and learning processes, providing a background to frame the discussion in the remainder of the chapter.

Teachers were introduced in Chapter 4 in three groups, relating to their level of engagement with teaching-learning processes. (This table is reproduced on the bookmark). The eight men in the first column (Rakesh, Ramesh, Mohammed, Raju, Ajit, Rahul, Shailesh and Durgesh) appeared ‘disengaged’ with learning processes, the eight women in the second column (Sarita, Minakshi, Kusu, Uma, Shalini, Tamana, Rajni and Kalyani) appeared ‘constrained’ and the four men and four women in the final

column (Deepak, Sanni, Santosh, Lalit, Anu, Mohini, Rounak and Seema) appeared 'engaged'.

The eight 'disengaged' male teachers in the first column, despite having assigned classes, had minimal interaction with them, even in terms of entering classrooms. Mohammed, Vidya head-teacher during Phases 1 and 2, did not appear busy but was never seen covering for absent teachers. Ramesh (acting head-teacher during Phase 3) had class responsibility but was rarely seen with his classes, which were merged each year with those of Anu, creating classes of over 70 pupils (totalling 71 in Phase 2, 93 in Phase 3). He was always busy, however, appearing deeply engaged in administrative tasks within and outside school. Ajit was frequently absent and never seen teaching, or even in his class: the only interaction I observed was harsh. (Yet pupils often referred to him as someone who had shown concern for, and inspired them, in the past, underlining just how the study was a 'snapshot in time'). Raju and Rakesh combined their classes (totalling 98 in both phases<sup>76</sup>) in one room, purportedly due to lack of space, although the veranda was wide enough to be used for teaching. Despite this, lessons were sporadic, and when either teacher was in class, teaching was erratic. Raju was observed in class more often than Rakesh, although pupils preferred Rakesh. During other teachers' absence, which was regular, especially in the cases of Ajit and Rahul, Rakesh or Raju paced the veranda to keep children in unsupervised classes, occasionally entering classrooms to threaten unruly boys into good behaviour.

Both Sagar head-teachers had responsibility for lessons, but Durgesh's nearing retirement in Phase 2 was paralleled by reduced energy for teaching, whilst Sagar's appointment as a JSK in the final phase made it difficult for Santosh to teach. Shailesh taught even less regularly than both head-teachers. Officially posted to the primary school, but assigned to the middle school, he had teaching responsibilities but felt his primary duty to be collation of SSA data. Like 'disengaged' Vidya teachers, he expressed no self-consciousness about this repeated absence, despite constant challenge and criticism from Rounak: he felt he was responding conscientiously to government mandates.

---

<sup>76</sup> The actual attendance in both of these combined classes was rarely more than 50% of those on roll.



The eight 'constrained' Vidya women teachers (in the second column) were more regular than the senior men, but never appeared to contest the schools' lax timings, especially in relation to the start of the morning shift and morning break-times, which could extend from 20 minutes to an hour. Lessons observations revealed some sense of professional commitment, a trace of affection for pupils and some desire to be able to do their job more effectively. Lessons were sporadic, however, both in terms of actual teaching and the level of teacher engagement with the teaching process. Classroom control was problematic in most classes, which was almost inevitable given the long periods of inactivity, but also because the textbooks were abstract, generally divorced from learners' worlds and sometimes illogical or contradictory. Teachers had few classroom management skills, and many resorted to threats and corporal punishment, making learning frightening. Sarita, the most junior teacher of the eight, expressed zeal as well as some resistance to the indifferent atmosphere, but her minimal professional skills undermined her success and determination.

Whilst the senior men presented the source of their problem as outside school, these women constructed the senior men, and sometimes even female colleagues, as the source of their demotivation. They suggested that they tried to fight dominant disengagement and disinterest, but that they were repeatedly broken by it.

The 'engaged' teachers in the third column, 3 from Vidya, 3 from Sagar and 2 tuition tutors, stood out because they had some educational impact, laying foundations for the possibility of equality/gender equality outcomes. (All but Mohini and Anu are the focus of the next chapter, so are not discussed deeply here). These teachers were engaged, regular and able to withstand colleagues' indifference or ridicule. None kept strictly to timings, but they tried to be in class and teach when they were supposed to. They were humane, respectful and even affectionate (although Seema was less so). Corporal punishment was limited and did not appear vindictive.

### Section reflections

Of the twenty-two focus-school teachers and the two tuition teachers, eight men (6 from Vidya and 2 from Sagar) appeared 'disengaged', remote from daily teaching and learning processes. Eight women, all from Vidya, appeared 'constrained' in their practice, wanting to make a difference to some pupils lives, but undermined and

constrained by the professional and institutional regimes framing Vidya teachers' practice. Eight teachers (four men and four women; six government teachers and two private tutors; four associated with Vidya, four with Sagar) appeared more engaged, and only the 'engaged' practice of these teachers laid any real foundations for academic and thus autonomy achievements.

## 8.2 Gender: rhetoric and reality

Having illustrated teachers' engagement with teaching and learning processes, the fundamental baseline for any returns to schooling, the next section explores their professed gender attitudes, and the reality of their gendered practices in an analysis of school (staff) gender regimes.

### 8.2.1 Six gender 'visions/positions'

Teachers' professed commitment to gender equality was sometimes convincing and their interview analysis of the disadvantages of inequality were sometimes acute, but much of their practice did not reflect these levels of awareness and did little to challenge dominant gender hierarchies. In all cases except that of Rounak, there was a difference between articulated gender attitudes, everyday school practices and even domestic arrangements. Teachers' gender 'visions/positions' were located along a continuum, from no obvious engagement to a demand for full equality.

#### No clear engagement

At one extreme, the attitudes of Mohammed, Raju, Ajit, Rahul, Shailesh and Durgesh were *either* difficult to ascertain, or their disengaged practice and lack of engagement in staffroom gender discussions suggested it may not have been one of their 'primary concerns'.

#### Abstract visions

In the next category Sanni, Ramesh and Rakesh articulated high sounding, *abstract* visions of gender equality, but made very few connections with personal experience. The gender order did not appear to be something upon which these men had reflected in relation to their personal practices (or they chose to not share those reflections).

Sanni, who had reflected deeply on poverty and class exclusion, had clearly thought much less about gender issues. He felt there had been significant progress in recent years:

Woman has always been at home, she was considered no more than a maid, she had no say and no importance. But now times have changed. Men and women are equal. (Sanni Kevat-TVME2).

He suggested that women's freedom to work outside the home should depend on the choice of individual couples, but was ambivalent about the many times when the choice is made by the husband or his family.

... some men feel that they can earn enough and their women should not go out and work. There are different opinions. But women should not be suppressed. (Sanni Kevat-TVEM2).

Ramesh, after a long debate on the nature and continuation of caste-based exclusions, recognised the multiple nature of oppressions, suggesting:

SC/ST and women are the worst victims of oppression in the society. SC/ST are victims of the entire society, while men oppress women. (Ramesh Ahiwar-VMD11~AHT).

He did not continue to reflect on how SC/ST women may be doubly disadvantaged, or if he might be 'oppressing' his wife and daughters. He went on to state that women's public-sphere leadership should increase, based on competence, but that what he interpreted as the 'tokenism' of contemporary government policy was sure to fail:

If a woman is capable of handling these affairs, she should certainly participate. But if you make an illiterate woman the member of *janpad*, it's useless. And this is what the government's doing. (Ramesh Ahiwar-VMD11~AHT).

All three men said that inequality has come at a great cost to national development, but all were more comfortable talking about non-gendered exclusions, based on caste and poverty. Rakesh even became irritated by the questions at one point.

What difference does it make if I think 'a lot', or 'too much'? Damage has been done. Half of the total population has been kept away from the decision-making process of society. ... Had they been included, it would have helped them better prepare future generations. (Rakesh Chaturvedi-VMD12).

The responsibility for unjust gender practices was displaced onto 'society' and social norms were not seen as something that could be easily challenged and changed. Rakesh continued to outline dominant gender regimes that constructed men and women as essentially very different, and his place within them:

I would like to take the example of my family or any other family. In our society it is believed that girl's purity is her biggest asset. In fact, that is THE thing, a girl or a woman has, hence it should be guarded. If, by any untoward incident that is lost, everything is lost for a girl. So the families are extra cautious, when it comes to their women. (Rakesh Chaturvedi-VMD12).

His gender visions clearly did not embrace the equality of individuals and their contributions, if purity is THE THING that a girls or woman has to contribute, whereas it is not important for men, as they presumably have 'many things'.

When discussing staff interaction, Rakesh initially suggested that male teachers do not exclude the women, but the women 'keep themselves huddled together'. With probing, he reflected that, had he cared deeply about equality, he would have made 'determined efforts' to help women overcome the attitudes and habits that kept them 'huddled together'.

Despite their abstract commitments to gender equality, these men had very little vision of the possibility of change, and were unwilling for it to be initiated from their doorsteps.

#### Bounded personal engagement

Seven Vidya women were in the third category, that of bounded personal engagement: Kusu, Rajni, Kalyani, Minakshi, Tamana, Uma and Shalini. Although only Shalini was interviewed, we had engaged in considerable discussion on gender issues, in which all participated enthusiastically. These women reflected on the gendered dimension of their lives and the gender injustices with which they had to contend, but they did not appear to challenge the dominant gender order in their domestic or professional lives.

In this sense, the gender attitudes and practices of sixteen teachers did nothing to reflect the 'empowered gender identities and relationships' of state policy: they had no real vision of the possibility or processes of change.

## Equal educational opportunities

The fourth category, that of 'equal education opportunities' comprised three men: Deepak, Santosh and Lalit. All condemned the injustice of gender relations in abstract form, but none suggested personal reflection on the implications.

Deepak, although one of the two teachers with whom I spent most time over 13 months, took a long time to talk frankly. As he relaxed, he revealed considerable reflection on the reproduction of caste, class-based and gender privileges and exclusions, saying that he was seen as a 'social reformer', and had to face the challenges and consequences that came with such roles. He suggested that:

If women become decision-makers and leaders, others will get inspiration and learn from them. There'll be a trend of linking and networking. Women are more creative, they are more holistic in their approach because they are the mothers and home-makers. Huge damage has been done to our society by keeping women imprisoned within 'the four walls'. Mothers, a child's best teachers, were kept illiterate. (Deepak Patodia-VME1).

But Deepak had no broader framework to analyse the reproduction of gender disadvantage. His professional practice was always respectful, but his gender practice was not as strategic as that addressing the construction of children's caste or class-based identities and aspirations.

Santosh and Lalit, with greater teaching experience and confidence, were more immediately reflective. Santosh, with a 'working' wife and two graduate daughters, said he was deeply saddened by gender inequality, especially when blatant and abusive, and that he tried to develop autonomy in his wife and daughters. He laughed as he stated:

Women have been managing our homes since time immemorial. They have the capacity, they will certainly manage other affairs ably. (Santosh Pandey-SME3~AHT).

He believed that what he saw as acute contemporary gender inequality would lead to societal implosion unless challenged and arrested.

Lalit, in his characteristic assured manner, presented himself as confidently opposed to gendered inequality.

Men and women are jointly striving towards nation building. Families who impose too many restrictions on their women should become more realistic, before it's too late. Where people consider women inferior to the men, it's a sign of orthodoxy and sheer backward mentality. (Lalit Varma-TSME3).

He felt it was imperative for women to be as educated as men, and for them to have the opportunity to develop their capabilities, to then prove their contributions.

In today's world, women must be educated, working and self-sufficient. It's important that they be given more freedom: they must come up in every field. Who knows, they might be more successful than the men in handling social, economic and political issues. But unless a person, man or a woman, be given a chance to work, how can you ascertain his or her talent and skills? (Lalit Verma-TSME6).

Lalit was convinced that women must enter the public realm in significant numbers, but that this would (a) be resisted by men and (b) demand that women juggle home and domestic responsibilities, as men were not going to share them. For these reasons, he counselled the girls attending his school and tuition to study hard but also attend to their domestic responsibilities with equal 'vigour', to be allowed to continue schooling and be ready for the dual lives they would be unable to avoid.

Both men had a vision of change. There was, in their imagination, scope for girls, as with boys, to do something for themselves through education: there was scope for change to social norms and their practice supported the integrity of their strong denunciations of families' gendered educational priorities. Their visions of their responsibility focussed only, however, on education. They did not think beyond this, to gender regimes and gender orders: they saw their duty as enabling educational success, in terms of competency and progress up the school system. They did not think of encouraging girls to question that system, even though Santosh, through his twenty-year association with Eklavya, had worked to help pupils question educational and wider social systems.

#### *Aspirational - searching for a 'framework'*

Mohini, Anu and Sarita were in the next category: they were aspirational, but searching for a theoretical framework within which they could understand and address their discomfort. Their interviews indicated considerable personal reflection on gender, in their own and others' lives, and a desire to make a difference in the lives of girls in their

classes. Mohini repeated a common theme of tensions between autonomy and cultural norms:

Women should be free, educated, self sufficient and financially independent. But there are restrictions, which women have to live within – breaking away is impossible for most of us. We have to take everyone into consideration – we have to remember our culture and society. (Mohini Singh-VFE7).

She continued to stress her version of equality, reflecting on the consequences of men's almost unchallenged dominance for "millennia".

For me, both are equal. I don't believe in giving too much freedom to men or imposing too many restrictions on women. I don't believe that men can't make mistakes, or that women do everything wrong. We gave freedom to men and results are in front there for us to see. (Mohini Singh-VFE7).

Mohini felt torn between her professional responsibilities and her role as a mother, feeling, ideally, that women should be at home when their children are young, and be able to re-enter employment afterwards.

The strength of emotion in Anu's interview responses was surprising, given her apparently calm, even subdued school persona. She expressed 'controlled' but powerful anger at discrimination and its source:

There shouldn't be discrimination. Powerful, selfish men have created these norms, because they feared that if women became powerful, their importance would decrease automatically. (Anu Uikey-VFE8).

She continued to criticise social norms that gendered professional identities and made it harder for women to succeed professionally.

Women should not only be educated, they should be free, not be tied down by societal pressures. Unless women are free, they can't do their jobs properly. Freedom and self-reliance are very important. (Anu Uikey-VFE8).

Issues of discrimination against Adivasis and Dalits clearly upset her, and she said that when she witnessed gendered caste discrimination, she would intervene to make the aggressor understand that:

What s/he is doing is inhuman, illogical and illegal. When a Dalit woman works as a labourer, nobody objects, but if a Dalit woman pursues a higher post, a promotion, eyebrows are raised and her ability is questioned. (Anu Uikey-VFE8).

Despite these high levels of reflection, however, they seemed to stop at a personal and aspirational level in school settings. It seemed that the boundaries within which they were working for change were so highly constrained that their actions were barely recognisable.

My knowledge of Sarita's perspectives came not from interviews, which seemed an inappropriate imposition after her recent bereavement, but from time spent together at her home, with her children, and at school between lessons. She had been widowed with young children, failed by the state (by non-payment of her widow's pension - her husband was involved in an accident whilst on railway duty) and suffering neglect and mistreatment by her in-laws. These experiences led her to reflect deeply on gender injustice and the need for equal rights, and equal education to enable girls and women to compete for their rights. Sarita had a deep affection for the pupils in her class (even 'naughty' ones, which was rare) and wanted to teach in a way that enabled them all, but especially girls, to progress. But she did not have the professional 'tools', or the support, to rise to this challenge.

I was unable to place Seema in any category. She was very uncomfortable with the observations and interviews, wanting to be the 'perfect' teacher and give the 'perfect' answers. She even invited her husband, Jeevan, to join us during caste discussions, as she felt she would not be able to answer whereas he would, as he headed an organisation supporting Dalit government employees. He said he had encouraged Seema into teaching so she could learn about the realities of caste discrimination through personal experience of the public realm, and through that learn to fight it. She admitted, that since entering the public service in provincial Madhya Pradesh (she was from an educated and affluent urban family), she had learnt that:

Discrimination is a bitter reality of our society. (Seema Dhakley-SFE5).

Jeevan added that his plan had not yet 'borne fruit', as Seema had not taken action against these inequalities: she observed everything and "seethed" inside, which made her frustrated and tense, but changed nothing.

He was very keen to engage in gender discussions, and became enthused with the vision of the education of Dalit girls as a key strategy for social transformation.



Women are 50% of the population. Unless the proper development of this 50% is ensured, how can we dream of being a developed nation? But look, we (Dalits) keep ourselves back. Recently, there were yearly elections in our community forum. My suggestion that women should participate and vote was rejected outright, they argued that women should be kept out. Some upper caste communities have full women's participation. But in SC/ST communities, women are barred. This is purely because of lack of education. Once women are educated, everything will fall in place. With that achieved, half the battle is won. (Jeevan, husband of Seema Dhakley-SFE5).

Jeevan said he had never reflected on such issues before, but his responses made it seem that they were not totally new. At the end of the interview, Seema added that:

Had women been given her fair share of power, we would have been a more developed nation today. Mutual understanding is very important. People's mind-set must change. Then only can there be equality in the true sense. (Seema Dhakley-SFE5).

She remained uncomfortable with the discussion, however, and her gender position remained unclear.

### Full equality

There was one teacher in the final category: Rounak. She had reflected deeply on gender issues, was committed to women's empowerment, and this position was communicated by her personal and professional life, her practice and her interactions.

Rounak's family arrangement was different from the norm<sup>77</sup>. As the youngest of six children, she was unmarried when her only bother died leaving a young wife and two daughters. Rounak's mother was already a widow, so the household comprised Rounak, her mother, her sister-in-law and two daughters. Instead of marrying and moving to her husband's home, Rounak remained at her natal home to provide for the extended family. She was adamant that gender equality meant just that:

We should get equal status. Women should be respected, the dignity of our work acknowledged. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

She presented her conflict with the dominant model of femininity.

---

<sup>77</sup> Uma was also unmarried and lived with her unmarried sister, who also worked in the town: she presented herself, however, as very satisfied with her domestic arrangements.

Society's notion of an ideal woman is very different from mine. The popular notion is that an ideal woman should be obedient, tolerant, submissive, caring etc. In her tolerance people try to see compassion, forgiveness, charity and everything. These *are ingrained* in women, yes, but should we, in today's times, expect tolerance *only* from women? It's really not my cup of tea. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

And, when describing her colleagues' awareness of inequality, illustrated aggressive reaction to her non-conformist gender identity.

Oh, they all know about inequality. But why would they do anything about it, when they are benefiting? So many men have told me 'You have nothing womanly about you'. 'You are neither fit to be a daughter, nor are you good enough to be a daughter-in-law'. I ask them, 'Why, is it because I am not talking to you in a low voice, or because I am not covered in a *ghoonghat*?' (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

She was also of the opinion that many women, rather than demanding equality, colluded in their own 'dependency'.

Women don't want to understand. I still feel that almost 99% are still dependent on their men for everything. I'm not just referring to illiterate women, but even degree holders and professional women don't use their own minds in personal matters. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Rounak saw how these tendencies and patterns have been socially created, and how women's subordination and resulting low expectations could affect their aspirations.

The most important thing is to realise that *we can* do things, then we get stronger - realising 'we can do it', 'we can overcome', is very important. Once this happens, the problems of resources, logistics etc become secondary. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

She felt she had to help pupils recognise and challenge the social construction of inequality (although she never expressed it in those terms), both on personal and more public levels.

### Section reflections

Apart from Rounak, teachers appeared to have not consciously reflected on the social construction of gender differences: if they had, they were unable to articulate this reflection. The women appeared to feel constrained by existing gender norms and either did not regard them as frameworks that could and should be challenged, or did not have the tools, or courage, to do so. They were aware of how society marginalised

them in certain areas, but they did not appear to recognise that they often collaborated in their marginalisation by conforming to expected attitudes and behaviours. The men seemed to have little awareness of how girls and women were regularly marginalised and how social and school procedures might have perpetuated this, as well as minimal realisation of the need to reflect on these areas to enhance progress towards self-professed goals. This lack of reflection on one of the most central issues of state equality agendas, the transformation of identities through education, ensured that (in their classes) only contained progress could be made towards this goal.

### 8.2.2 Institutional (staff) regimes

An exploration of the institutional regimes in both schools provides a deeper contextualisation of teachers' professed gender attitudes and practices. I use the term 'institutional regimes' to describe the interface of wider teacher professional regimes and bureaucratic regimes. I distinguish regimes of 'interaction' between teachers from those between teachers, pupils and their families.

#### 8.2.2.1 Vidya

Within staff institutional regimes, gender was a powerful 'marker' of difference, more significant than seniority and access to powerful social networks. Teachers professed opposition to casteism, especially in relation to their colleagues, and this position appeared to be substantiated by their behaviour and attitudes towards colleagues and peers of different social groups, but powerfully questioned by the attitudes towards some pupils.

Mohammed, Vidya head-teacher in the first two phases, seemed to have little engagement with the running of the school. In the final phase of fieldwork, the main 'gatekeepers' in Vidya appeared to be three men, Ajit, Ramesh and Raju, all of whom were absent for significant periods each day, reportedly on official work. Ajit appeared to be away for 75% of the time, Ramesh kept coming and going, whilst Raju was more often in school. During the absence of the first two men, Raju and Rakesh appeared to assume responsibility. Teachers called Ramesh the 'DEO's Secretary', and I often met Ramesh, Raju or Ajit in education offices or officials' homes.

Of all Vidya teachers, only Ramesh and Rakesh talked deeply about divisions with the staff. Deepak shared his opinions more frankly in the final interview, admitting that he was very concerned about the professional consequences of them being aired publicly. He admitted, determined to not mention names, that the dominant, negative atmosphere in Vidya was problematic:

It definitely affects honest teachers. When they see others sitting and chatting away, it disturbs them. Very few can really remain unaffected. But there are some mentally strong teachers who stay put and say 'We will do the duty that has been entrusted upon us'. (Deepak Patodia-VME1).

The frank and lengthy interviews of Ramesh and Rakesh sketched two very different, but equally dedicated histories of struggle. Both expressed deep anger and frustration at 'the system', and portrayed long careers of both desire and initiative for egalitarian change, mirrored by continual frustration. Whilst Ramesh felt he was still fighting, 'doing his best', Rakesh acknowledged his inferior performance and admitted that although once highly motivated and active, he now felt broken and disengaged. Both acknowledged the divided, deprofessionalised atmosphere at Vidya, and saw continual non-school duties and teacher 'peer pressure' as the key factors discouraging enthusiasm and hard work.

Rakesh encapsulated teachers' feelings that the system broke down conscientious teachers by reference to Ramesh:

The present head-teacher was my colleague. We used to have long conversations about falling standards. He was often edgy and dissatisfied. When he became acting head-teacher, I was hopeful that the fire in him would bring about some constructive changes in the school. Initially, he tried, managed to get some funds, but the situation hasn't changed much and the fire seems to be dying. To be fair, I would say it's not his fault. The system has forced him, moulded him, to compromise. (Rakesh Chaturvedi-VMD12).

Rakesh admitted that he had allowed his colleagues to be instrumental in his own demotivation, but Ramesh insisted he was still trying his best. Ramesh, however, stressed that there was no team spirit unifying actors in the 'project of the improvement of primary education', illustrating his point with a graphic and memorable allegory.

Do you know the story of turtles kept in an open basket? Even though the basket has no lid, not one turtle can get out. Because, when one tries to crawl up, others pull it down, and this goes on all the time. (Ramesh Ahiwar-VMD11~AHT).

Rakesh explained that the last interview had prompted him to think over many issues. Before his honest response to the question of why, with his deep insight, skill and gift, he remained disengaged, he seemed upset and excused himself. The cost of this professional loss might have been considerable, as I sensed he might have been a great teacher. He once gave an engaged, interactive lesson: one of the five best primary lessons I had observed. It was about making and flying kites, and he orchestrated a discussion on the equal right of girls as human beings to play, and enjoy flying kites, as boys do. He told me later that the lesson was staged to 'make me happy', but the entire episode and its later discussion demonstrated to me what an exceptional teacher he may have once been.

The younger men, Deepak and Rahul<sup>78</sup>, seemed excluded from the male 'gate-keeper' group. In the first two phases, Deepak absorbed himself in his work diligently and purposively. In the third phase, he was sent on official work for almost a third of official teaching days, with no teacher cover for his class. When I queried this at the DEO office, I was told that conscientious and hardworking teachers were invariably chosen for such work: as officials know they will complete the assignments competently. (What the DEO did not tell me, but what conscientious teachers from Quetta and Hussain schools did, was that such teachers often 'catch up' with their teaching in their free time, to ensure that their pupils do not suffer. By selecting them, the government pays once, but gets two jobs done). Throughout the research, Deepak resisted making any criticism of any superiors or the system, until the final interview in the last month, when he was slightly more expansive, and admitted his earlier fear of the professional consequences of his opinions being 'leaked'. He felt that had I talked about his opinions, he would have lost his job (just months before becoming made 'permanent and pensionable'). It had taken two years to win his confidence, but I felt rewarded with genuine reflections.

Of the ten women, all except Anu complained about the senior men and their influence. Whatever the causes and nature of their exclusions, however, most co-operated in it by their lack of resistance. Only Kusu and Anu (with 22 and 14 years experience respectively), involved themselves in logistical/statistical work, and Anu appeared to support Ramesh's agendas and tasks. Only Kusu took more noticeable initiative, but

---

<sup>78</sup> I did not interview Rahul, who was absent for all of Phase 3.

even her involvement in clerical tasks seemed to support, rather than challenge, Ramesh's priorities.

Vidya had great potential, and there was much that could be improved at negligible financial cost. The provision of seating mats, for example, radically altered classroom arrangements and space. Fixing wood between the adjoining classrooms; fixing windows, doors, shutters or cupboards; making the classrooms secure; even painting the walls – all these things could have been done at minimal cost. Other town primary schools had raised funds to make major infrastructural improvements, which included purchasing playground equipment<sup>79</sup>. Personal initiative appeared to have been stifled by 'corporate' indifference.

I hoped to engage more deeply with Kusu, as she appeared to have once been an engaged, efficient and caring teacher. She preferred not to be interviewed, however, explaining that she was 'tired' of being misunderstood and misrepresented (prior to the research). She had actually been offered the acting-headship before Ramesh, but had declined as she was not prepared to engage in what she perceived as 'the game-playing' inherent in running such a divided school. She complained bitterly about the senior men, and was adamant that anyone who wanted to improve the school was prevented from doing so by the management. She countered my observations about staff lack of concern by saying that she had donated Rs.50,000 to the school three months previously, but that nothing was being done. She was convinced the blame lay with Ramesh. On raising the issue with Ramesh, I learnt that he was unable to utilise the funds until permission had come from the DEO and Collectorate, which still had not materialised, despite the desperate need of the school and the application being lodged on receipt of the donation.

Vidya staff relations with one another and with officials were highly complex. Although I could not ascertain all contributing factors, women and younger men were clearly not very instrumental in determining 'the rules'. This contrast hinted at many conflicting stories: the most persistent one, echoed throughout the data, was how 'disengaged' and 'constrained' teachers were created by the wider system.

---

<sup>79</sup> Observation, interview and background data for 7 teachers from 3 other schools was collected and analysed, but is not included in the analysis due to space constraints.

#### 8.2.2.2 Sagar

Sagar staff regimes were very different and three factors seemed correlated with this.

In the first instance, as Sagar was a middle school, it functioned on a slightly more professional basis. Middle school management and teacher morale were repeatedly presented as better than in primary schools. Teachers were more highly paid, and their social status was perceived to be greater than that of primary colleagues. The social distance between middle teachers and pupil families was less, and some families were more affluent than teachers. Pupils who had made it to middle school had *some* academic foundations, so teaching was less challenging and demotivating than in the first few years.

The second factor was that Sagar was very small: only four teachers in each year: three men and a woman in the first and second phases, two men and two women in the third. It would have been, theoretically, important to work together to get jobs done (especially given the considerable SSA data demands), and also easier to do so. (But I did not explore this in depth).

The third factor was one of personality. The three Sagar male teachers appeared calm, approachable, and collaborative: Santosh particularly so, Shailesh if encouraged. (Seema only joined the school at the beginning of the third phase, and remained nervous of the research, so she had little time to settle in and I had insufficient opportunity to observe her impact on school dynamics). But Rounak was a member of this staff. Her strong character, her commitments to ‘doing the right thing’ and her inability to stop herself from standing up for what she believed right (and face the consequences later) made her into quite a formidable staff member. She was never afraid to speak her mind, regardless of who was observing, significantly including pupils, and this fed into the running of the school. I sensed that the staff got on reasonably well. Rounak expressed deep appreciation of Santosh as her mentor in the early days of Eklavya, and there was none of the criticism of colleagues evident amongst Vidya staff. Rounak criticised Shailesh, but she also did this to his face, repeatedly, for his regular absences and even more regular failure to teach. (These were similar themes to those of Vidya women’s complaints about male teachers, but they did not confront colleagues). Shailesh did not

appear to take offence at Rounak's reprimand, but neither did he take any remedial action.

### Section reflections

Of the twenty-four teachers, the class and gender attitudes and professional practices of twenty-three posed little sustained challenge to classed and patriarchal gender regimes. Many men presented themselves as enthusiastic supporters of gender equality, yet their reflection was almost always abstract, never personalised, and they contributed to the reproduction and perpetuation of hierarchical gender regimes and exclusions. Although most women both 'felt' gender inequalities in domestic and professional environments and presented themselves as dissatisfied with them, they appeared to have no framework to guide their interpretations and actions. Most teachers, even the most benevolent and caring, women and men, operated within and colluded with patriarchal regimes.

## 8.3 Gender and government schooling: aspirations and practices

Having explored teachers' general gender positions and practices, this section explores their professed educational and lifestyle aspirations for their pupils, and the realities of their actual interactions with them.

### 8.3.1 Educational aspirations for government school pupils

#### *In theory*

Teachers' professed commitment to educational gender equality and their analyses of the disadvantages of educational inequality were as convincing as their stance on broader gender equality.

Ramesh Ahiwar stressed the central importance of the education of girls, particularly those from poorer families or oppressed jatis and castes, as part of the process of social transformation. He had a broader strategic vision, however, about the complexities of encouraging girl's educational performance:

See, you cannot see this problem in isolation. It is not just about girls, the school and the teacher. There are bigger issues involved, like these girls' families, their



communities, the society and the government. To help poor and Dalit girls, we must first develop confidence in their families. They need to be brought into the mainstream. It's, in a way, revolutionising the entire society. Only then can we talk of improving the condition of the girls. (Ramesh Ahiwar-VMD11~AHT).

Ramesh's analysis was acute, and he was investing all of his spare (and much of his professional) energy into working for the integration of Dalits into the mainstream. He was not, however, working with the same zeal to 'integrate' girls and women.

Rakesh also suggested that he believed education should be the same for girls and boys, that they should get equal amounts and that it should enable everyone to work together to contribute to "building a better future".

There should be one system. We need to ask how we want to see our society, nation, state and people develop and then see how schools can best develop the next generation. Our policy should also help teachers to bring up students socially as well as educationally. (Rakesh Chaturvedi-VMD12).

Rakesh' case was particularly sad, as he had reflected very deeply on all matters of education and social justice and demonstrated great teaching skill (explored elsewhere), yet he was disengaged during the fieldwork.

Deepak was clear that girls and boys should study alongside one another, for as long as possible, and that schooling had many benefits in addition to potential financial returns.

Girls should study till at least 12th class, ... further if possible - both should study as far as possible and be taught the same subjects. Education is very beneficial - not only for employment - it makes us aware of things, of life, it develops decision-making capacities. (Deepak Patodia-VME1).

He argued that girls must participate more in activities outside the home ("the four walls") to have the foundational experiences necessary to develop self-confidence.

Girls can only face society well if they're strong enough. But they have to become strong from the inside - not doubt or be afraid. (Deepak Patodia-VME1).

He gave examples of how he encouraged his pupils to visualise better futures, as "hope is the source of life" and how he encouraged parents to support these aspirations.

If a girl wants to study till 5<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup>, I tell her and her parents the advantages of more schooling, and ask them why they aren't educating her more. (Deepak Patodia-VME1).

In his characteristically calm and ‘unpublicised’ approach, Santosh did not elaborate at length on the ways in which he tried to encourage not only girls and boys equally, but also female and male colleagues. In referring to the challenges and discriminations frequently faced by female teachers, he was the only male teacher to draw attention to these realities.

I do as much as possible (*to challenge gender discriminations wherever he recognises it*) and there’s societal pressure at work too. There are people who like to appear modern, but they’re actually very narrow-minded and don’t treat their women equally. Yes, I *do* make freedom a moral issue. (Santosh Pandey-SME3-AHT).

Given most pupils’ appreciation of Santosh’s teaching and (pre-Phase 3) practice, it seemed that many had benefited from his ‘moral’ position on freedom.

Lalit, always articulate and confident, stressed the need for women to be educated and more enabled to make choices about their futures.

For me girls and boys are equal. There are a couple of girls in Standard 7 and 8. I tell them very clearly that they are girls; they have to do household things all their lives, they can’t escape. But if they also feel interested in their studies, they should get up early, study for a couple of hours and make up lost time. That’s all I can tell them. (Lalit Verma-TSME6).

He did not, however, see his role as one of challenging either existing caste or gender-based discriminations. He saw his role giving his pupils the academic foundations so that they could challenge exclusion themselves.

Mohini (one of the three women who questioned gendered inequalities but had no clear framework within which to ‘locate’ their discomfort) felt very strongly that education should be made available to everyone, and that as it was regularly denied to girls, their education was the most urgent priority. She was insistent that she had always wanted to be a teacher, not aspired to a different profession.

I always wanted to be a teacher and work for girl's education. God has helped me in my mission and I consider myself very lucky. (Mohini Singh-VFE7).

She was confident that there had been progress, and that more change would come, but that it would be gradual.

There is definitely progress – gradual progress. There's been more focus on women's education, nutrition and living conditions. We *are* getting more freedom, even if only a bit. Women's oppression is being questioned ... slowly, it will change. (Mohini Singh-VFE7).

At times she was determinedly optimistic, perhaps when she forced herself to not reflect too deeply on the environment in which she worked. When she did that, however, she betrayed frustration and confusion. On one occasion, she reflected on how she did not stand up to Vidya colleagues when she opposed their school behaviour. She went on to say, however, that since getting to know Rounak, she wanted to model her strength and become more able to stand publicly by what she believed.

Anu, in a response that reflected her quiet but determined school behaviour, simply stated that girl and boys should both be educated equally, to work together equally.

If men and women don't work together, the country won't progress. It's important that women be given equal status. The standard of *schooling* must be the same for all students – there shouldn't be any difference. (Anu Uikey-VFE8).

Sarita was equally clear that schooling should be to develop 'individuals', and that the style and purposes of education should be the same for everyone.

The aim of school education must be same for each and every individual. (Sarita Dharey-VFC10).

Seema, who found it difficult to share her reflections freely, said that she had wanted to be a doctor, and that, as she had not done so, she now wanted her daughter to become one. In relation to her Sagar pupils, however, she insisted that:

Teaching is the best profession for women, no other compares. It's the safest and the best job for women in every sense. (Seema Dhakley-SFE5).

She went to explain, however, that she educated her children in private, English-medium schools to give them a chance in life, and that, had they been educated in government schools there would have been a 'great difference' in their achievement levels and potential.

Rounak, characteristically the most reflective on all gender issues, believed that education should be about preparing pupils for informed, rational choice, greater autonomy and public-sphere participation.

I want girls to learn to read, write think, make decisions, express themselves and then take their own decisions. If they want to work, they should be able to work, make their own choices and try to achieve their aims. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Education, in her view, should enable the development of critical agency, enable individuals to 'shape their own destinies' and provide the foundations for confident public-sphere social, economic and political participation.

### *In practice*

Teachers appeared to share similar theoretical 'visions' on the transformatory potential of education, but they also seemed to share quite similar practical applications of those visions to their pupils. These aspirations were much more pessimistic than teachers' visions, and were related primarily to (i) the general difficulty of gaining employment (or other financial returns to schooling), even for well-educated candidates from affluent families with appropriate social capital; (ii) pupils' relative socio-economic positions; (iii) teacher interpretation of family educational aspirations (gendered and otherwise) for their offspring, and (iv) frank assessments about the quality of the education provided at their, government, schools.

Given the ways in which these factors combined, Vidya teachers tended to be the least optimistic about the 'transformatory' potential of schooling for their pupils, both boys and girls. Expectations rose commensurately with the time pupils remained in school (regularly correlated with increasing income) and the greater pupils' demonstration of genuine competence. Sagar teachers thus tended to be more aspirational than those at Vidya (excluding Deepak). Apart from Rounak, all teachers who *wanted* to believe in the transformatory power of education worked within an 'equal opportunities' framework, hoping that if they and their pupils tried their best, their lives would at least be a bit better than they might have been had they neither attended school nor gained qualifications.

These were general aspirations, however, which although apparently non-gendered actually related primarily to the boys: teachers felt that, at most, only 10% of families had any desire for daughters to enter public-sphere employment. Furthermore, as the gender attitudes and/or practices of sixteen teachers (those who were 'disengaged' or 'constrained') did nothing to reflect the 'empowered gender identities and relationships'

of state policy, their expectations for girls were framed within existing gender hierarchies (The impact of the six teachers associated with the two focuses-classes is discussed in the next chapter). Rounak was the only teacher to seriously challenge existing gender hierarchies, but even her practice was informed and constrained by her interpretation of family and community gendered expectations and conditions.

### 8.3.2 Pupils' 'otherness'

Despite teachers often 'high-sounding' and egalitarian educational aspirations, markers of class, caste, ethnicity and religion scored Vidya regimes related to pupils and their families: markers of difference and 'otherness'. Whilst teachers repeatedly recognised the inadequacy of the education provided at Vidya, their immediate reaction was to lay responsibility for pupils' poor attendance and academic failure with families.

Given the Muslim/Adivasi/Dalit presence among the staff, I was surprised to hear the frequent grouping of all pupils together as the uneducable 'dregs' of society: as 'SC/ST and Muslim'. I was regularly told, on entering a classroom, that the children facing me were 'useless', 'backward', 'incapable of anything', because:

They were all were all 'SC/ST and Muslim', that their parents did not care about school, and that they that had money to spend on beedis, alcohol or meat, or even all three, but could not find any to invest in their children's schooling.  
(Fieldnotes: 11.1.02)

This refrain was echoed like a motto, even by Muslim, Dalit and Adivasi staff, although they avoided reference to religion/caste/ethnicity and focussed on poverty. Regardless of shared 'social group' background, the wide class difference between teachers and pupils appeared to undermine even the possibility of any sense of group identity. Pupils and their families were different, not just 'other' from the teachers, but also inferior.

Families were always blamed for girls' poor school enrolment and attendance, which was perceived to be of even less concern to them than that of their sons. Most teachers represented families as concerned with nothing other than arranging daughters' marriages and of sending their girls to school to get the free porridge offered at break-time (which some parents forbade their children from eating, due to concerns over hygiene). These teachers felt that most families were not serious about daughters'

academic performance, and thus that they were responsible for girls limited aspirations and achievements.

Although there were ten women teachers, the ‘othering’ of all pupils appeared to undermine opportunities for any gendered affinity with girl pupils. Girls’ experiences were so radically different from teachers’, and part of female teachers’ identity seemed to incorporate them being *unable* to identify shared, gendered experiences with these ‘poor’ girls. As all pupils were powerfully ‘othered’ and distanced by staff, girls were as ‘other’ as boys, so gender dimensions were less marked in pupil than in staff regimes.

Not only was the socio-economic ‘gap’ between teachers and most pupils at Sagar significantly less than that at Vidya, but Sagar pupils were obviously older, required less constant attention due to their basic academic foundations and were more ‘school-socialised’ than Vidya pupils. In addition to their greater maturity and the greater deference they had learnt to display, Sagar pupils could also be relied as responsible monitors and helpers, so their relationships with teachers were slightly more reciprocal than those of Vidya pupils (despite the willingness to help, and competence of significant number of Vidya pupils). Finally, the committed, reflective and egalitarian practice of Santosh, Rounak and Lalit (explored in the next chapter) interrupted this pattern.

Within the broad difference between schools and teachers, however, the greater the ‘social class’ difference between teachers and pupils, and the less malleable and evidently ‘responsible’ the pupil, the greater the ‘othering’ between them and the majority of teachers.

### 8.3.3 Unconscious gender bias

At the beginning of Phase 2, I had to select the focus-class teacher from three equally suitable Standard 5 ‘candidates’: Anu Uikey, Mohini Singh and Deepak Patodia. From the outset, their commitment appeared similar, as did their teaching skills, despite both women’s considerably longer teaching experience. All interacted respectfully with pupils and insisted that they tried to treat them equally and teach well, to the best of their understanding, and hoped that pupils would benefit equally.

Both Anu and Mohini felt that girls, especially in the early years, needed calmer, gentler teachers and claimed that this did influence their practice. Anu had three daughters, and Mohini had two sons and a daughter: all were equally adored, but Mohini said her youngest daughter was her pride and joy. They said their experiences of both girlhood and motherhood had heightened their awareness of girls' particular challenges in public places, especially the need for safety and for usable latrines. They both felt that all girls, not only young ones, required understanding and encouraging teachers to overcome their hesitancy, and claimed that these and other life experiences influenced their practice. Deepak expressed less engagement with gender issues.

In common with practice in most classes, teaching was didactic and followed the textbook with almost no deviation. There was no introduction, class, group or individual activity, or closing session and no task differentiation related to ability/performance, even in terms of one input, then different tasks for strugglers, average pupils and fast ones. The entire class was taken with the teacher through each step, the pace set by pupils who admitted that they had not yet finished. This had many consequences: many pupils, either overwhelmed or bored, switched off; very little work was completed each session, and pupils were reluctant to admit when they were not understanding or keeping up (large numbers mimicked and even claimed comprehension). It would be wrong to state that disengaged pupils were always girls, or that the girls always had less support for their education, as each class was so heterogeneous, scored by many different dimensions of inequality. (These issues are discussed in Chapter 8).

These were the shared environments of all three classes, but I ultimately selected Deepak as the focus-class teacher, despite his lack of articulated engagement with gender issues. This was because, notwithstanding their range of influence and gender awareness, Mohini and Anu's actual classroom interaction appeared gendered.

Anu's interaction focussed on boys. Girls were seated at the edge of the class, away from the natural 'fall' of her gaze and she rarely made eye contact or involved them in lessons. It was stark and immediately recognisable. As they were excluded, they switched off and occupied themselves, attracting Anu's attention to be reprimanded. I

was befriended by some of these girls in the second phase, and their reflection on school demonstrated a muted recognition of and indignation at this process.

In terms of eye contact, encouragement and attempts to involve pupils, Mohini's interactions were less overtly gendered. Her lack of skill, however, contributed to her focussing mainly on the pupils who followed her lessons without trouble. This group had marginally more boys than girls, but this was not a significant correlation, as the group was very small in both phases (she taught Standard 5 in Phase 2, Standard 1 in Phase 3) and because many more boys than girls attended regularly.

Both Anu and Mohini desired to be 'good' and effective teachers, but greater teaching and learner-management skills could have enhanced their effectiveness, thus the potential for greater equality outcomes. They strove to treat pupils equally, but a gender-neutral approach was detrimental for the majority of girls, because most needed more encouragement. Their lack of awareness of these dynamics, or of skills to respond to them, constrained the educational gender equity impacts they were able to achieve.

#### Section reflections

Vidya pupils were constantly reminded of their social position and the lack of concern with their education. School premises were neglected and crumbling and classrooms were uninspiring and uncomfortable. Derogatory references formed an undercurrent to daily activities and few teachers appeared to have any transformatory/driving concern for pupils. Deepak aside, it seemed that the men contributed to shaping the discouraged atmosphere. As gender equity gains generally follow qualitative improvements, the gender impact of these men's practice was bound to be minimal, if not negative. Their practice discouraged not only achievement, but even attendance. As pupils were not in school, there was no possibility of benefiting from it.

As Anu and Mohini wanted to teach, did so with some success, and demonstrated concern and respect for their pupils, there was scope for the possibility of equality and gender equality impacts. Gendered classroom interactions meant, however, that boys were the primary beneficiaries, despite teachers' professed desire to help girls. It appeared that they had no conceptual tools to explore how girls' continued



subordination could affect academic performance, and so it appeared as if they offered girls little guidance about navigating and challenging entrenched disadvantage.

## 8.4 'Returns' to schooling

Given the problems associated with both the collection and validity of exam results, the next section uses class enrolment as a measure of 'achievement'<sup>80</sup>. Vidya enrolment, by standard, teacher and shift, is presented in Table 9, and Sagar enrolment, by standard, is presented in Table 10. Phase 2 data is represented in the left-hand columns, Phase 3 in those to the right. (Some Vidya data is difficult to read, as two classes per shift were merged: the classes of Rakesh Chaturvedi and Raju Sisodia, and those of Ramesh Ahiwar and Anu Uikey). Regardless of these complexities, girls' overall enrolment at the primary stage was poor at 37% during each phase and Deepak's high Phase 2 girls' enrolment of 55% stands out against all the others.

**Table 9: Vidya, class-by-class enrolment and girls' percentages of total enrolment**

Phase 2 morning shift					Phase 3 morning shift				
Std and teacher	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls' %-age	Std and teacher	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls' %-age
2 MK	30	19	49	39%	1 MS	22	20	42	48%
3 RC (with 3 RS)	0	30	30	100%	2 AD	19	9	28	32%
3 RS (with 3 RC)	68	0	68	0%	3 MK	39	23	62	37%
4 AD	36	15	51	29%	4 RC (with 4RS)	15	25	40	62%
4 UB	34	20	54	37%	4 RS (with 4 RC)	58	0	58	0%
5 Deepak Patodia	20	25	45	55%	5 Deepak Patodia	36	18	54	33%
5 MS	34	19	53	36%	5 UB	36	24	60	40%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>35%</b>

Phase 2 afternoon shift					Phase 3 afternoon shift				
Std and teacher	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls' %-age	Std and teacher	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls' %-age
1 RM	30	23	53	43%	1 AU (with 3 RA)	24	19	43	44%
1 KU	42	27	68	40%	R RM	31	24	55	44%
2 KG	41	20	61	33%	2 KU	39	23	62	37%
3 SS	32	20	52	38%	3 KG	23	23	46	40%
4 RM	32	17	49	35%	3 RA (with 1 AU)	36	14	50	28%
4 SD	34	23	57	40%	4 TS	32	17	49	35%
5 AU/RA (2 classes)	48	23	71	32%	5 SD	43	28	71	39%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>376</b>	<b>39%</b>

Source: Vidya teachers and head-teacher, 2002 and 2003

<sup>80</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3), enrolment data would have been more useful if it had been possible to analyse it alongside information about the educational status of all children in the school's catchment area (for example, if they are, or were, enrolled; in what type of school; at what age they were 'pushed out' etc.). As this was not possible, I use school returns in isolation.

Table 10 illustrates the inverse for Sagar: relatively high gender ratios at the middle stage, when girls' enrolment is normally much lower: in Phase 2, girls' enrolment was 42% of the total, and 44% in Phase 3.

**Table 10: Sagar, class-by-class enrolment and girls' percentages of total enrolment**

Phase 2					Phase 3				
Std	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls' %-age	Std	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls' %-age
6	32	23	55	42%	6	24	23	47	49%
7	32	23	55	42%	7	25	18	43	42%
8	23	18	41	44%	8	30	20	50	40%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>44%</b>

Source: Sagar JSK records, April 2003

In addition to this 2001-2002 and 2002-2003 data, Shailesh Chaubey, Sagar's SSA 'data-collating' teacher, presented me with Standard 8 enrolment data from 1986, the year that Rounak Tiwari joined the staff, until 2003. (Presented in Table 11).

**Table 11: Sagar, Standard 8 enrolment from 1986 to 2003 and girls' representation**

Year ending	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03
Boys	38	27	30	20	33	20	31	23	24	28	ND	28	25	29	33	29	25	30
Girls	0	2	4	1	3	10	8	6	13	19	ND	18	16	18	17	9	18	20
Total	38	29	34	21	36	30	39	29	37	47	ND	46	41	47	50	38	43	50
Girls' %-age	0%	7%	12%	5%	8%	33%	20%	21%	35%	40%	ND	39%	39%	38%	34%	24%	42%	40%

Source: Sagar JSK records, April 2003

Again, without more educational information on the child population of the catchment area (by social group) detailing who was and was not attending school, and what type of school they were attending, this data is difficult to interpret. It illustrates, nevertheless, a gain of 40 percentage points over a period of 18 years.

In relation to Vidya (but not Sagar) the minimal utility of this data was further reduced for two reasons. The first reason was that the numbers given for Deepak's class (the only one for which I knew all pupils and attendance patterns) were different from those actually on register. School returns suggested he had 36 Cohort 2 boys and 18 girls, whereas there 35 boys and 25 girls on register, and 32 boys and 22 girls who attended. The second reasons was that, in all but three classes, numbers on registers bore little relation to the number of pupils who came to school regularly. As this was the case for Deepak's classes, which I knew well, it might have been the same for other classes, with whom I spent less time.

Repeated school visits confirmed early impressions that many pupils were regularly absent from most Vidya classes. In Phase 2, only three of the fourteen classes (those of Mohini, Anu and Deepak) were regularly well attended. The practice of the 'disengaged' Vidya men resulted in serious attendance drops, with a greater number of absent girls than boys, and boys attending for registration, then truanting, returning home only once school had ended. When teacher-absence led Rakesh and Raju to keep pupils in classrooms with closed doors, many boys would escape via the broken window-bars at the back.

Attendance drops were also marked and gendered in the classes of the 'constrained' teachers, but they did have slightly more impact than the 'disengaged' Vidya men. There was evidence of some teaching skill, which might have had positive gender and equity impacts in encouraging environments. This potential, however, rather than being developed, stagnated. They helped a few pupils progress, but their practice had minimal equity implications, as the pupils who succeeded may have done so despite their teachers. Given the number of disengaged and constrained Vidya teachers, the class-teacher system benefited the few and disadvantaged the majority. Positive or negative impacts were compounded when one class stayed with one teacher throughout their primary school career.

In Sagar, the subject-teacher system meant that teacher disengagement resulted in boys' occasional lesson truancy. Pupils who stayed at school regardless of teacher absence remained in a class supervised by monitors: this was more feasible at the middle stage, but was inevitably problematic for most pupils, especially the monitors (one girl and one boy), who had no *real* mandate to control their peers.

Of the twenty-four teachers, the 'engaged' practice of eight teachers had an impact on enrolment and attendance. As pupils felt that these teachers tried to teach regularly, with respect and concern, there was far more motivation to come to their lessons than to those of their sixteen colleagues. The encouragement of enrolment and attendance is itself a gendered phenomenon, as many girls' educational inspiration came uniquely from school. These eight teachers provided the essential foundations for the *possibility* of some educational impact.

The preceding discussion has outlined two very different educational environments and the greater cost to primary pupils and their families of the state privileging of middle schools, teachers and associated regimes. For most Vidya families, more socially and financially distanced from teachers than Sagar ones, state provision was so inadequate that few classes were assured a baseline of teacher presence and regular teaching input, and no pupil could be assured five consecutive years of adequate teaching. The impact on academic performance therefore undermined the possibility of even the foundations for increased autonomy. Regimes at Sagar were more professional and transparent: due to the higher esteem afforded to middle schools; the characters of all teachers; the ethical commitments of Santosh and Rounak, and also because pupils from families with the least material and symbolic capital had been ‘pushed out’ of the system.

### 8.5 Conclusions and connections

Of the twenty-four teachers associated with the focus-schools, the ‘disengaged’ or ‘constrained’ practice of sixteen undermined the possibility of academic success. The classes of the fourteen primary class-teachers in this group were therefore denied environments of learning. (Some pupils, the more ‘academically able’ were succeeding, but sometimes this was not *because of* their teachers, but despite them). The inadequacies of their school experiences and the traumas often linked with attending school (during teacher absence, but also presence) created vicious circles of pupil fear, reduced aspiration and failure, contributing to families negative assessments of school quality and undermining their commitment to their daughters’ schooling. In addition to these discouraging environments, and despite high-sounding visions of gender equality and the transformatory potential of education, teachers’ classed gender practices reinforced dominant gender hierarchies and regimes.

The next chapter focuses on the learning environments created by four teachers and two tutors associated with the focus-classes, environments that provided the possibility of greater academic achievement, for girls and boys.

## Chapter 9      Classroom regimes: the focus-classes

The previous chapter explored the dominant regimes of Vidya and Sagar schools, regimes that shaped pupil academic aspirations and success, the image of each school in the community and family commitment to continued schooling. This chapter explores the regimes of the two focus-classes over Phases 2 and 3, focusing on boys as well as girls. As the gender visions and gendered aspirations of all teachers were explored in the previous chapter, this one starts with a gendered analysis of broad patterns in school and tuition environments, then proceeds to a deeper exploration of the regimes and learning environments in the lessons of the four focus-class (school) teachers and the very different achievements pattern in each class over each cohort. It concludes with an investigation of the factors influencing classroom regimes and pupil outcomes. The focus is not exclusively on gender issues and concerns: it is not only exploring gendered response to gendered curricula, but the foundational requirements for achievement, reflection and autonomy.

### 9.1      Broad gender patterns in school and tuition environments<sup>81</sup>

This section outlines the broad patterns in the learning environments created by the teachers associated with both focus-classes. It starts with gendered analytic overview of enrolment, attendance, achievement, management strategies and interactions, first in the classes of the four government teachers, then, after a background to tuition, in those of the tuition tutors.

#### 9.1.1      School

There was no strong gender bias in enrolment in either class, over both cohorts (see Table 12 below). As introduced in the previous chapter, both Cohort 2 classes had the

---

<sup>81</sup> Analysis of Phase 2 practices and outcomes is presented in a conference paper, published in 'Educate' (Page, 2003) Available online at [www.elspethpage@freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage@freeuk.com). Achievement analysis in this paper draws on class tests from the previous academic year, as board exam results were not available.

best gender ratio in respective schools, and Standard 5 girls actually outnumbered boys. In Phase 3, girls averaged 40% of class enrolment. This was four percentage points below the proportion of girls between 6 and 11 enrolled in the district, and one percentage point above that for girls between 11 and 14 years (See Appendix 15, Table 10)<sup>82</sup>.

**Table 12: Both focus-class cohort enrolments**

		<b>Total</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Boys</b>
<b>Phase 2</b>	<b>Standard 5</b>	45	25 – 56%	20 – 44%
	<b>Standard 8</b>	41	18 – 44%	23 – 56%
<b>Phase 3</b>	<b>Standard 5</b>	54 (Plus 6 non-attenders - 60)	22 – 41% (Plus 3 non-attenders)	32 – 59% (Plus 3 non-attenders)
	<b>Standard 8</b>	50	20 – 40%	30 – 60%

The primary question relating to this data is why girls' enrolment was so strong in Phase 2 and why it reduced so significantly at Vidya in Phase 3. There was an age-related caste/ethnicity bias in both Cohort 2 classes, with Dalit/Adivasi pupils the eldest, but this was not replicated in Cohort 3. (Appendix 18 provides data on the ages, religion, caste, jati, father's work and exam performance of Cohort 3 girls).

There was a clearly gendered attendance bias during Phase 2: girls were less regular than boys, and more Dalit/Adivasi pupils were more irregular than others. During Phase 3, however, all but two Standard 5 girls (the Prasad sisters) were more regular than nine boys and all Standard 8 girls were more regular than 13 boys<sup>83</sup>.

In school lessons, classroom management and organisational strategies were often conspicuously gendered: seating was in sex-segregated rows, leading away from the teacher; pair or group work, where organised, was only mixed where there were odd numbers; names were separated in the register and many small classroom management activities were organised around gender difference – collecting books, marks, money for the school fund, and competitive group work. School environments were, however, markedly less gendered than home ones. Both schools were almost free of the gendered service demands that occupied a large percentage of all girls' home lives, and both classrooms were definitely so: girls and boys were selected as monitors and captains, and

<sup>82</sup> These figures really do not bear comparison, but they regularly are used to demonstrate progress.

<sup>83</sup> As discussed in Chapter 4, the sample size was too small and scored by too many vectors of 'difference' for quantitative correlations to be replicated over both phases

these responsibilities challenged traditional gendered patterns. Girls related to others as individuals, not as those who serve family members.

As a broad generalisation, pupils' classroom behaviour was clearly gendered. Collectively, boys' interactions with teachers were more confident, boisterous, and, in some cases, cheeky. In the two focus-classes over both phases, boys were more 'audibly' involved in questioning processes, more ready to take risks and less concerned when they made mistakes. Generally, girls' interactions were more tentative; they were less involved in questioning processes, more risk averse and appeared more uncomfortable when their answers were wrong. No girls were cheeky, although the behaviour of two or three from both Standard 5 cohorts was almost 'familiar', and might have been deemed inappropriate by families and some teachers, although it was not by Deepak. There were, however, girls and boys from both cohorts and both classes whose behaviour did not fit these patterns: generally, boys whose performance was weak behaved in ways more typically associated with reticent girls, and girls who were confident of their academic ability behaved in ways more readily associated with confident boys. These girls may have had more extrovert personalities, but their confidence may have contributed to this: no high-achieving girls were reticent in either class or cohort.

When measured by board exam results, there was no sustained gender difference in academic achievement in either Standard 8 cohort, nor in Standard 5 Cohort 2. There was, however, a marked bias against Standard 5 Cohort 3 boys, with the top 50% of positions dominated by girls, who comprised 40% of the class. (See Appendix, 18, Tables 2 to 5 for the distribution of girls and boys across class achievement rankings. These tables are discussed in Section 4 below). These are complex figures to interpret, however, as average income of Cohort 3 girls' families was higher than that of boys, and girls completing Standard 8 had the highest average family incomes within the pupil sample. Studies of complete age-cohorts (including girls at government and private schools and those not enrolled) show significant gender difference even in completion of primary and middle school.

There was little evidence of obvious gender-bias in teacher-inspired interaction: all four teachers shared their gaze equally across equally spaced sex-segregated rows with similar

numbers of girls and boys. Deepak's open running questions made it impossible to identify bias. The questioning approaches of Santosh, Rounak and Seema were more managed and there was no obvious gender pattern. Whilst Santosh and Rounak involved most pupils (boys and girls), Seema interacted with more articulate and competent ones.

Rather than a gender bias, there was an interactional bias in all lessons, based on pupil interest, effort and involvement. In Phase 2, Deepak's interactions were with about 60% of the class, and there were twice as many disengaged girls as boys in the remaining 40%. During Phase 3, he interacted regularly with about 35% of the class, with an equal number of boys and girls. The 'disengaged' group was large, with many failing girls and boys. Despite the repeatedly articulated concern of Santosh and Rounak to involve all pupils, there were a few disengaged/excluded pupils in their classes over both cohorts. This group comprised equal numbers of boys and girls over both cohorts.

This 'disengaged' group was not markedly gendered in Standard 8 over both cohorts, and Standard 5 Cohort 2, but was dominated by lower-income and/or older pupils, with boys who were older than girls. Older boys from poorer families might have enrolled late, tended to have repeated one or more years, and were forcefully sent resit exams after failure. Older girls from similar families were often enrolled even later than their brothers and their schooling was more susceptible to termination after the first or second failed exam. These pupils were all low achievers, with irregular attendance and minimal evidence of interest in school processes, who needed considerable academic support to progress alongside their peers. There was, however no evidence of sustained strategies to address their particular challenges and enable their participation.

This disengaged group was highly gendered in Standard 5 Cohort 3, with more than twice as many boys as girls. These boys were being seriously failed by the inadequacy of state provision, and, the majority voted with their feet and played truant (unlike girls whose schooling would be terminated if they did the same), whilst those who came to school remained disengaged from learning processes, and learnt daily lessons about their lack of ability to either achieve academically or 'bravely' play truant with the more adventurous boys.



### 9.1.2 Tuition

According to Cohort 2 and 3 girls, five Vidya teachers, Deepak included, ran tuition sessions outside school time. Three teachers told me that they taught weak pupils, free of charge, and two teachers did not comment. Deepak used to give tuition to five girls and three boys (the strongest in the class, with greatest family support) without charging, but stopped providing this service in the first few months of Phase 2 fieldwork, saying he had too many demands on his time. During both phases, weaker Vidya pupils reported that they had attended other fee-paying tuition at the start of each academic year, but had left due to inadequate teaching or discriminatory treatment. In Phase 3, five girls attended tuition with Sanni.

Organisational patterns in the two tuition classes were different from school classes, but also each other. Sanni's tuition sessions were atypical: all other observed sessions were based on rote learning and repetition, a pattern repeated in all reports of other arrangements, from all levels of Nakuur educational and social hierarchies. Sanni's sessions, however, were commissioned by concerned families; comprised only a few learners (which made them more expensive), and focussed on individual problems and understanding. Some of his pupils had experienced repeated problems at school, and families (or concerned relatives) had emphasised the need to focus on their particular problems. A formative incident had boosted his determination to be a good tutor: one grateful family had given him an expensive watch in appreciation of their daughter's unexpected (and genuine) exam success. Sanni's sessions were irregular, held in or near pupils' homes and only included five Cohort 3 Standard 5 girls. (I do not present an interactional analysis, as the group was small and only consisted of girls).

Lalit's classes were conducted at Sagar (at his private school) for two hours before and after school, from Monday to Saturday, and were attended by 44 of the 50 Cohort 3 Standard 8 pupils, each of whom paid fees of Rs.50 per month.

Attendance and organisational strategies at Lalit's tuition resembled those of formal school, with the only major difference being that girls were seated in rows at the front of the class, with boys in rows behind them, rather than in rows leading away from the teacher. Sessions followed subject textbooks, were teacher-led, focused on whole-class teaching and progressed rapidly, with considerable teacher questioning/requests and

pupil response. Homework, which consisted of the memorisation of passages or even entire calculations, was set every evening and tested in the following session. There appeared to be no evident bias in any teacher inspired interaction: numerous questions were posed to varied individuals, many pupils (regardless of ability) were requested to demonstrate solutions on the board, or asked to stand and recite passages.

Nearly all pupils were more engaged in tuition sessions than in school lessons, and girls were particularly more vocal than they were in school. Pupils appeared more relaxed and confident with Lalit than with any other teacher, and all seemed engaged in class activity. Many pupils held him in high regard, as a teacher and a person, and some were highly appreciative of his commitment and teaching.

Those pupils who were arguably in the greatest need of tuition, however, (the ‘failing’ Standard 8 boys who were silent in school, and the girls whose families were ‘indifferent’ to their continued schooling) did not attend. One boy suggested that this was because his family had a legal quarrel with Lalit, but this was not investigated. Two girls said that their families would not allow their attendance, even if it were free or the fees were paid for them.

### Section reflections

The above exploration has demonstrated that there were no gendered enrolment biases in either class over both cohorts. An age-related ethnicity bias in Cohort 2 was not replicated in Cohort 3. The attendance bias in favour of boys in Phase 2 was reversed in girls favour in Phase 3. Classroom management styles were conspicuously gendered, but classroom regimes were free of the many gendered service demands of girls’ homes. Pupils ‘group’ behaviour was clearly gendered, but these patterns were interrupted by high-achieving girls and low-achieving boys, and were less marked in tuition sessions. There was little gendered difference in achievement and ranking in board exams. There was little evidence of bias in teacher-inspired interactions. There was, however, a marked interactional bias in all lessons (although it was slightly less pronounced in tuition sessions) that discriminated against all pupils, girls and boys, whose performance was weak and whose engagement or effort was deemed indicative of disinterest. This bias was not gendered, but as the average incomes of boys’ families were lower than those of girls, the composition of these failing groups cannot be taken as indicative of

possible trends in an entire age-cohort. This exploration illustrates that the key equality and empowerment challenge is to find strategies to respond to the learning needs, motivations and interests of the most challenged and failing pupils, of any sex, in any class, but especially those offering the most inadequate learning environments.

## 9.2 Classroom regimes, teacher practice and pupil achievements

I describe the practice of Deepak, Santosh, Rounak and Seema and their classroom regimes in greater detail in this section. As Seema only joined Sagar during Phase 3, and her discomfort with the research affected her practice and interactions, I do not analyse her practice in as much detail as that of the other three.

### 9.2.1 Deepak Patodia

Deepak's teaching style was similar over both phases: he taught to the whole class, to the 'average pupil', did not differentiate tasks according to ability, and interacted with individuals to mark work, rather than attend to particular learning needs.

Hindi and Environmental Studies were dominated by a competent pupil reading the passage from the textbook (which formed the basis of each chapter), word-by-word, often echoed by the class, followed by teacher exposition of the meaning. This exposition was accompanied by questions asked to the whole class, to which responses could be shouted from anyone. When the relevant passage had been read and explained, Deepak went through related textbook questions. Questions were again asked to the entire class, or pupils would be asked in turn, up and down seating rows, with Deepak repeatedly returning to the first question once all had been answered, until every child had had an opportunity to answer. The first pupils were the only ones whose knowledge was tested; those who followed had to reproduce correct answers. Once this was finished, Deepak wrote 'ideal' answers to textbook questions on the board and pupils copied them into their 'copies' (as exercise books were called, transliterating the English word).

The approach in Maths was to explain how to do a calculation; do one or two examples on the board; call forward two or three more competent pupils to work through them; then set the whole class one or two problems to solve. Deepak would check the work

of early finishers whilst the majority were still copying the problem. When these pupils returned to their rows, they shared their books with neighbouring friends and the spread of the calculation mirrored classroom ‘Chinese Whispers’. After a short while, Deepak would work through the questions on the board, and pupils would adjust copies accordingly. On looking at copies, one would assume that the class were progressing. For many Cohort 2 pupils, and the majority of those in Cohort 3, this was barely true.

Lessons incorporating writing tasks advanced at the pace of the slowest pupils, and progress through textbooks was slow. Faster pupils became bored and found ways to entertain themselves. The faster girls were more invisible and self-contained in their activities (plaiting hair, drawing in their books, even tearing pages from text-books and making origami shapes), but the boys were extrovert and more often distracting. This, perceived by Deepak as misbehaviour, often resulted in mild punishment and always in teacher distraction from teaching and marking.

The behaviour of these ‘fast finishers’ differed significantly from that of a large group of children who did not follow lessons. This group was smaller in Phase 2 and dominated by girls; much larger in Phase 3, with more boys. Behaviour of this ‘non-comprehending’ group was markedly gendered, and more so in Phase 3. Girls’ behaviour mimicked genuine learning<sup>84</sup>. During class reading, they pretended to follow with their fingers, but their fingers did not correspond to the places from where the class was reading. They sat bent over books, pencil in hand, appearing to write or calculate, looking up and down from the blackboard, but their pages were empty or marked with lines and dots bearing no resemblance to writing or calculations<sup>85</sup>. The behaviour of some boys was more disruptive<sup>86</sup>, and more visibly alienated. Numerous break-time fights spilled over into classroom interactions, which were controlled by Deepak, but not resolved.

Deepak taught all subjects during Phase 2, did not use the ‘Guide’, and gave homework at least twice a week, marking it during class time. He began to use the Guide during

---

<sup>84</sup> I wondered if this was a strategy to avoid being ‘found out’ and either punished, or have their schooling terminated. Given that these girls were all highly reticent, I did not feel it would be in their best interests to ask them about it, even as I got to know them more as individuals.

<sup>85</sup> One of the girls had impaired vision, and could not see the board, but she had kept her place for four months before she was moved to the front, pretending to work.

<sup>86</sup> There were 15 Cohort 3 boys who were ‘disaffected’ with school and pessimistic about any returns to their schooling.

Phase 3, however (possibly as a last resort, as Cohort 3 pupils were failing so regularly), homework was given and marked irregularly and there were no consequences for non-completion. He rarely taught English, allowing it to be pushed off the timetable. He insisted he did not intervene in board exams, neither during the process nor afterwards: some pupils said the same, others the inverse, but all suggested that considerable cheating took place during exams. If this was true, it might have been difficult for any junior para-teacher to stand against the trend.

### 9.2.2 Santosh Pandey

The interaction between Santosh and his pupil stood out by its 'humaneness' and sense of reciprocity and 'self'. He interacted with them on individual bases, was approachable, usually calm and quiet and did not draw on the 'accepted' status difference between pupils and adults. Class interaction was much less formal than that in non-focus classes, but pupils responded to him respectfully: neither rudeness, nor discipline problems were ever witnessed. There was no evident gender bias in any interaction, including that outside the classroom. One Cohort 3 boy made fun of him, good naturedly, and a few Cohort 3 pupils were upset about his new and regular absences, but many pupils expressed appreciation of his teaching.

Santosh was aware of the whole class and, more than any other teacher, made constant efforts to include reticent, shy or quiet pupils. This was a significant improvement on many teachers, but there was one feature of his practice that undermined the potential scope of equity and empowerment impacts: like all teachers, he did not vary his approach based on knowledge (and his was thorough) of pupil ability. In Maths and Science, pupil tasks followed a class activity and pupils were involved in questions and set tasks relating to generic activities, not to their abilities.

Although Phase 2 work at Sagar focussed on Standard 8 (to whom Santosh did not teach Science), some of his Standard 7 Eklavya Science lessons were observed. The difference between these lessons and those of the following year was considerable. The Eklavya topics I observed followed a similar format, extending over a number of lessons: they started with a discussion of the topic and how to solve the 'challenge' through experimentation; pupils either worked on textbook problems or predicted outcomes; these predictions were discussed as a class; experiments were conducted (in

the yard and surrounding areas) in groups, using appropriate equipment provided by Eklavya and maintained by monitors; experiments and findings were then written up; there was a class discussion and comparison of findings, and lessons often closed with a table or diagram representing class findings to be copied into 'copies'. On two occasions, the class conducted a second round of experiments to explore anomalies in the findings.

The gender patterns during these practical sessions were interesting. Groups were almost always single-sex, as the majority of girls and boys resisted mix-sex groupings and their wishes were respected. Those pupils who were relaxed about mixed groups were high-performers who presented themselves as 'sensible' and 'mature', only concerned with learning. There was also a core of 'sensible', diligent and achieving boys who worked together. These boys' groups, the mixed and girls' ones settled quickly to their tasks, progressed through each step, worked collaboratively and were purposefully engaged. Four or five boys' groups, however, used the opportunity to fool around. (It may have been due to my presence, but I doubted it as I was with the class for such extended periods). They were neither high nor low achievers, but average pupils confident of passing exams. This raised a major gender issue: whilst girls' strong desire to stay in school encouraged them to work diligently, these boys' confidence of their continued schooling, regardless of behaviour/performance, might have made them nonchalant<sup>87</sup>, undermining their performance.

Santosh's teaching style changed radically with the change from the Eklavya to state Science syllabus. Of the two new syllabi, Science was the most challenging. Each lesson consisted of pupils, both volunteers and teacher-selected, reading sections, interrupted for Santosh to explain meanings and ask comprehension questions. Textbook questions would then be asked and answers discussed, then pupils asked to write the answers in rough books. Sometimes they were asked to write them into their neat copies for homework.

I did not observe Maths in Phase 2, but that observed in Phase 3 was taught in a similar spirit and approach to Phase 3 Science. The lesson would start with a problem posed or a concept and an approach to solving it introduced. If the former, once the class said

---

<sup>87</sup> This merits deeper research. Boys' failure is bad *per se*, but it also has negative impacts on aspirations for girls' schooling.

they had solved it, a pupil would show the working leading to the solution on the board. Santosh always varied his choice and ensured that a range of abilities came forward. This was not always as positive as he believed it to be, however, as some pupils had no idea and felt embarrassed to have this displayed. Eleven boys and six girls were the weakest in this class, and all were equally embarrassed about being called to the board. Some of the failing boys were as reticent and self-effacing as the failing girls. In stark contrast to many Standard 5 'naughty' boys, none of these Standard 8 boys misbehaved obviously.

In Phase 3, Santosh' increased responsibilities reduced his setting of homework and marking of all work. Given the vast amounts of material in the new state Science syllabus, homework was often set to complete class work, and work was rapidly marked in class or during break times. Santosh stood, however, in deeply principled opposition to cheating and corruption during and after exams, and Sagar procedures did appear more formal and transparent than those at Vidya. Insight from Lalit Varma into the level of mal-practice suggested, however, that no local schools were exempt, and that even where class- and head-teachers opposed the practice, others (including those who came to invigilate board exams from other schools) could be co-opted to ensure passes for pupils from families with the correct connections and ability to pay.

### 9.2.3 Rounak Tiwari

When I met Rounak during the pilot study, her commitment, zeal and reflection finalised my choice of Nakuur for the fieldwork. During Phase 2, she taught Social Studies, Science, Sanskrit and English: I observed all lessons but focussed on Standard 8 Science. During Phase 3, English was the only lesson she took with Standard 8.

Rounak was relaxed, confident, communicative and fluent in her teaching. Like Deepak and Santosh, she was invariably approachable (unless she was angry). She interacted with pupils wherever they met, not only in school, but also in the village, at the bus-stop or even (on rare occasions) in their homes: and all interactions were informed by her understanding of appropriate gender identities. At our first meeting, whilst I was explaining the research, she made an incisive comment that encapsulated her approach and awareness.

I'm not sure you'll get the bigger picture if you focus just on classroom interaction. Our schools are so regimented, we're squeezed into formality, the curriculum is imposed and the pressure of exams sets everything. Teachers and pupils interact differently outside. There you'll see teachers' gendered expectations and behaviours and girls' behaviour, less controlled, which often challenges our images. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

As Rounak 'chatted' regularly with pupils, they were able to gain some insight into her perspectives and values. She insisted that boys and girls should be treated equally, that there should always be two nominated monitors or captains, a girl and boy, that they should work together, and that tasks should be rotated, making it impossible to assign gendered tasks. She made it clear that she would not tolerate discrimination, and incorporated an active pastoral role into her work.

Rounak demonstrated concern for and interest in her pupils, beyond the classroom and the passing of state exams. It was this dimension of her practice, the 'behind the scenes' scaffolding of genuine relationships with her pupils informed by her commitments to justice and integrity, that caused many pupils to cite her as a major influence and inspiration in their lives. They acknowledged that she was strict, and sometimes became very obviously angry with pupils, staff or local boys who dared to flirt with 'Sagar girls' during or outside school time, but they felt that her anger was usually justified, and often indicative of concern for their interests.

The procedure in Phase 2 Eklavya Science lessons was similar to that observed in Santosh's class. One example was a series of lessons on time and pendulums. The class discussed the issues, predicted what would happen, made a table, and then groups conducted the first set of experiments. This involved going outside, winding stones in thread and nailing them wherever they could, which necessitated climbing on chairs or walls and using doorways and arches in the school and next-door Panchayat building. Groups then recorded the results in tabular form and reported back to class, making a large table of all results on the blackboard, added to group by group. Patterns and anomalies were discussed, pupils asked to explain possible causes, and then asked which ones should be retested. They decided, retests were made in groups, and the table on the blackboard updated. There was then a class discussion about why these mistakes had occurred, how similar ones could be avoided and the experiments were written up.



The gendered pattern observed during Santosh's group sessions were replicated here, with the nonchalant cheeky boys being nonchalant and cheeky. The lessons were memorable, energising, and physical, a major change from the hours sitting cross-legged in other lessons. Most pupils were engaged and all appeared to be enjoying themselves. It was the girls' evident pleasure, their competence and thoroughness, that struck me powerfully and made this learning experience the most memorable of the fieldwork.

As Social Science was not activity-based like Science, the Eklavya approach was not so immediately different from that of other subjects: but, like Science, it was grounded in developing critical thinking skills and investigation. Rounak wanted her pupils to reflect on lessons, relate them to their lives and question the 'knowledge' presented to them. She adapted materials in the textbooks, encouraged pupils to question the origins of knowledge (especially that contained in the textbooks) and tried to dissuade them from meaningless reproduction. Given teachers' regular practice, however, even some pupils resisted this approach.

One day I had to teach cyclone and decided to explain with a *chakki* (hand-grinder). As I began, the children said "Our earlier teacher didn't do this, she just asked us to tick the correct answer in the book, so you should do that also". (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

She persisted, however, and Cohort 3 pupils almost unanimously expressed preference for this approach and the greater mastery it enabled (discussed in the following chapter). Rounak found support and a platform for her approach and principles on joining Eklavya.

Despite her deep reflection, Rounak, like all other teachers, did not set different work/tasks for pupils of different abilities. Even following the Eklavya curricula, classes were taken through activities together. Small, verbal questions were differentiated, but written work and exercises seemed the same for everyone<sup>88</sup>.

In the third phase, Rounak only taught English to Standard 8. On one occasion (one of the videoed lessons), pupils were required, after being given two examples, to complete seven sentences in the passive. Irregular constructions had not been introduced in the textbook, but four of these sentences were irregular (See Page 45, Exercise III of

---

<sup>88</sup> I feel this is highly significant and requires further research.

textbook extracts at [www.elspethpage.freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage.freeuk.com)). The level, the language required and the lack of explanation rendered the lesson difficult and demotivating. Rounak did not come to me, as an English speaker, for help, but brought some books, worked out the rules for regular and irregular passive constructions, and taught these for the next two lessons. That was one major difference about her practice. She looked and taught outside the textbooks.

Rounak's thoroughness in marking, regularity in setting homework, insistence on its completion and absolute refusal to set homework from the guide separated her from other teachers. Her anger over cheating and corruption was directed at the education system that both made them not only necessary for progression, but also possible. This anger extended to tuition, which she saw as capitulation to an education that made great demands and gave few rewards. Families blamed school and teacher inadequacies for the need for tuition, Rounak blamed the curriculum, and resented those (including Lalit Varma) who she felt exploited family fear.

#### 9.2.4 Seema Dhakley

Seema taught Standard 8 Social Science during Phase 3. She was new to the school, did not feel settled by the time the research began, and so was tense and self-conscious during observations. As she was also self-conscious during interviews, I was unable to understand her attitudes or her insight into her own practice. She also began her work with Cohort 3 from a difficult position, as her pupils were unhappy on two counts. They were unhappy with the new curriculum, and most were disappointed that Rounak was not teaching them.

Seema's practice was very similar to Deepak's, although 'running questions' were rarely asked to the entire class. All observed lessons followed the same pattern: pupils were asked to read from the textbook section, they were stopped regularly whilst Seema expanded on the meaning of each passage, and asked the class if they understood. She tended to focus on more competent pupils - an equal number of girls and boys. More pupils appeared disengaged in her lessons than in those of Santosh or Rounak: neither obviously following class activities, nor offering to answer questions. Homework was set regularly: questions were either set from the textbook, or dictated from the guide (which many pupils did not have), then marked during lessons the next day. Non-class

interactions with pupils were limited, but this appeared to be largely caused by her self-consciousness about the research, as she appeared to be settling to her new environment, colleagues and pupils towards the end of the fieldwork.

### 9.2.5 Board exam performance

As analysis of 2003 board exams results suggests that there was no pronounced gender bias in achievement, this section explores the very different achievements of all pupils in each cohort, rather than differentiating between that of girls and boys. (Cohort 3 girls' achievement is explored in the next chapter).

Table 13 (synthesising data in Appendix 18, Tables 2 to 5) presents 'aggregate' exam performance of both classes over both cohorts.

**Table 13: Both focus-class cohorts, 2003 board exam attempts and outcomes**

No. of pupils:	Standard 5						Standard 8					
	Cohort 2			Cohort 3			Cohort 2			Cohort 3		
	Totals	Girls	Boys	Totals	Girls	Boys	Totals	Girls	Boys	Totals	Girls	Boys
Sitting board exam	42	22	20	54	22	32	41	18	23	50	20	30
Passing at first attempt	35	18	17	19	9	10	38	18	20	29	11	18
Failing outright at first attempt	5	4	1	7	1	6	3	0	3	4	0	4
Failing, but taking supplementary	2	0	2	27	12	15	0	0	0	17	9	8
Passing supplementary	2	0	2	25	11	14	0	0	0	5	2	3
Failing supplementary	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	12	7	5
<b>Total failing after all resists</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16 *</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>

\*Of these 16, 4 (2 girls, 2 boys) rejoined Standard 8 in the next academic year, retook failed papers and moved immediately up to Standard 9.

In Cohort 2, 42 Vidya pupils sat the board exam, with 35 passing on the first attempt, and five failing outright. Only two had to sit the supplementary exam, and both passed. In Cohort 3, of the 54 Vidya pupils sitting the exam, 19 passed at the first attempt, seven failed outright and 27 sat the supplementary exam. Of these, 25 passed and 2 failed. At Sagar, 41 Cohort 2 pupils sat the board exam, with 38 passing at the first attempt and three failing outright. Of the 50 Cohort 3 pupils sitting the exam, 29 passed immediately, four failed outright and 17 had to sit the supplementary exam. Five of these passed, whilst 12 failed. Not only did the number failing increase slightly in Phase 3, but the number of having to sit supplementary increased from virtually none to 27 in Standard 5 and 17 in Standard 8.

Table 14 compares the number of papers taken with the number failed, to present subject-wise and ‘aggregate’ performance of both focus-class cohorts (at the first attempt, not including supplementary).

**Table 14: Both focus-class cohorts, subject-wise performance at first attempt**

Subject	Standard 5								Standard 8															
	Cohort 2				Cohort 3				Cohort 2								Cohort 3							
	H	M	EVS	T	H	M	EVS	T	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	T	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	T		
No. papers written	42	42	42	126	54	54	54	162	41	41	41	41	41	41	246	50	50	50	50	50	50		300	
No. papers failed	7	1	3	11	32	9	28	69	1	3	3	2	1	0	10	1	5	1	8	3	15		33	
% of papers failed	16%	2%	7%	9%	59%	17%	51%	43%	2%	7%	7%	5%	2%	0	4%	2%	10%	2%	16%	6%	30%		11%	

Standard 5 Cohort 2 pupils only failed 9% of papers taken, whilst Cohort 3 failed 43%: failure was significant in Hindi and Environmental Studies (EVS). Standard 8 Cohort 2 failed 4% of papers, whilst Cohort 3 failed 11%. Although this was a smaller figure than that of Standard 5, failure was most marked in Science. Whilst no Cohort 2 pupils failed science papers, 15 pupils (30%) did in Cohort 3.

Table 15 compares the average overall and subject marks obtained by each class over each cohort (at their first attempt), to track performance averages over each phase.

**Table 15: Both focus-class cohorts, average pass-marks (percentages) at first attempt**

Subject	Standard 5				Standard 8						
	H	M	EVS	T	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	T
Cohort 2	49 %	64 %	63 %	59 %	55 %	54 %	49 %	56 %	47 %	60 %	53 %
Cohort 3	23 %	44 %	27 %	31 %	59 %	48 %	54 %	48 %	48 %	30 %	47 %
Up or down?	▼	▼	▼	▼	▲	▼	▲	▼	▲	▼	▼
Difference	26 %	20 %	36 %	28 %	4 %	6 %	5 %	8 %	1 %	30 %	6 %

The Standard 5 Cohort 3 ‘class aggregate average’ was down 28 percentage points from that of the previous year, with a similar range across all subjects, although the least decrease was in Maths<sup>89</sup>. As the pass-mark was 33%, Cohort 3 aggregate, Hindi and EVS averages (at 23% and 27%) are below that necessary for a pass. Whilst the Standard 8 Cohort 3 ‘class aggregate average’ was only down by 6 percentage points from that of the previous year, the science average was down by 30 percentage points, from 60% to 30%. This, again, represents examination ‘failure’, and was the greatest subject reduction after Standard 5 EVS (at 27%).

<sup>89</sup> Maths was Deepak’s ‘specialist subject, and taught most regularly. Competence required the least language skill, ideal answers were easier to memorise, and, arguably, copying from others during exams was less difficult.

## Section reflections

This section has demonstrated how the difficulty of state syllabi undermined determination and success and how, even in the classes of three of the most promising teachers of the sample (Deepak, Santosh and Rounak), some pupils were being failed, not only by teachers' limited professional repertoires, but also by 'the system'. In addition, state curricula, as they discouraged criticality, did little to develop the foundations necessary for pupils to question any societal regimes, much less gendered ones. Only one teaching/learning environment really broke this pattern: that of Rounak's Cohort 2 lessons. Her reflected gender position and her commitment to challenging dominant gender regimes provided foundations for her interactions with pupils and her interpretation and teaching of syllabus content. She was the only teacher who had reflected deeply on gender issues, who was able to articulate and share those reflections, and who acted explicitly to challenge and change dominant gender regimes: the learning environments she was able to create following Eklavya syllabi possessed the baseline requirements for the possibility of heightened girls' aspiration, achievement and autonomy. Her greatest challenge is to continue to do so after programme closure and reversion to state Science and Social Science syllabi.

### 9.3 Factors shaping classroom regimes and pupil outcomes

Many factors shaped the regimes of the focus classrooms and pupils' academic achievements over both phases. Some, significantly the curriculum, teacher skill and learner characteristics, were more immediately obvious. Others, including teacher's negotiation of professional regimes, level of reflection on and engagement with inequality and, critically, their negotiation of dominant gender regimes were less so. It is to an exploration of these factors that the thesis now turns.

#### 9.3.1 Curriculum, syllabi, exams and textbooks

The potential for schooling to enable the development of critical agency is clearly enhanced if the curriculum is founded on a commitment to such development. The nature and epistemic foundations of curricula, associated pedagogic and assessment approaches, textbooks and other teaching materials had a clear influence on regimes in both schools and classrooms. As textbooks and exams structured most school activity,

most teacher comment referred to their structuring power (rather than that of syllabi or the broader curriculum).

Both the physical manufacture and the content of state books left room for improvement. The paper was so thin that writing showed through, pages were sometimes missing; there were technical and spelling mistakes, and sometimes even factual ones. The primary textbooks, revised three times in the previous 6 years (purportedly building on the 'best insights' of state books and Eklavya's *Kushi-Kushi*) were not child-friendly. They were abstract and challenging, filled with information, with lessons and tasks that did not develop in incremental stages. Some stories contained a moral, preaching tone and reflected lives divorced even from those of Standard 5 boys, much more so those of girls. Not only did pupils find them unstimulating, but also the academic demands were not matched to pupil competence. Deepak felt pupil disinterest was due to textbook content and structure.

I sometimes feel angry that I'm working so hard, but some pupils aren't interested, but then, maybe I'm also to blame as I'm not able to keep them interested? ... The books should be improved – be made more interesting and practical. ... Just before I came here in 1998, there was a book by Eklavya – it was very nice. All four subjects were in one book - it was all taught through exploration, practical things were written in a very interesting way, and children used to learn very easily. (Deepak Patodia-VME1).

Gendered representations in text and images, of both books and guides, replicated the highly patriarchal inequality reported in the studies cited in Chapter 3. Although few Standard 5 pupils could afford exam guides, their presentation of past papers and key questions to be memorised for 'assured success' reinforced replication.

The same patterns were reflected in state middle-school textbooks. Pupils, Santosh and Rounak felt that state Social Science and Science books were fact-filled and dense: they instilled apprehension and undermined confidence.

Rounak articulated a highly analytical position on the gendered nature of textbooks, and, comparing representations in text and images, was convinced that state textbooks marginalised girls and women.

Women are ignored - they don't get space. See this English textbook? I see just one 'This is Mary, this is John. Mary is John's sister'. Great. The rest is all he,

his, him. It's filled with heroic male characters – no female ones. How do you expect girls to develop self-confidence? Where are they supposed to get inspiration from? (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

In contrast, she felt Eklavya textbooks and pedagogic style prompted reflection on social issues and gender.

Eklavya has given prominence to gender injustice – girls and women figure prominently in the illustrations. And they're not continually presented as helpless. It's given space for discussion, has made teachers and pupils try and figure out solutions to the problems we face. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Illustrations in Eklavya books regularly included pupils of evidently different ethnic groups, marginalised Adivasi art forms were used on covers and in decorations and girls were regularly represented as agentic, inquisitive, 'energetic' subjects alongside boys.

Textbook manufacture and classed, gendered content may not, however, have been the most fundamental problem: state books and the entire curriculum within which they sat reinforced replication and discouraged reflection and creation. The epistemological foundations represented knowledge as 'information', projecting it as finite and of a nature divorced from pupils' experiences. This, coupled with the 'guides', encouraged the assumption that success and status depended on memorisation and replication.

As Deepak resisted articulating any criticism of the state system until the final interview in the last month of fieldwork, early interviews suggested he had no criticism of any aspects of the curriculum, assessment or teacher training. Causal discussions and his practice over 12 months, coupled with revelations in his final interview, suggested that he actually experienced the curriculum as highly restraining. Whilst the reasons why he allowed English to be pushed off the timetable were numerous (and included his own lack of competence), the foundational ones were systemic: English was not included in the board exam; the level set in the textbooks was unachievable and thus highly demotivating and teachers were not adequately trained to teach it.

Both Santosh and Rounak recognised the 'structuring' power of the entire curriculum, (rather than focussing only on textbooks and exams), both recognised the political nature of the curriculum, and had long histories of challenge to the hegemony of the reproductive model.

The syllabus, the textbooks and exams all reflect our teaching approach and all three, in my opinion, are not suitable. The pattern and language is very tough. The syllabus - as reflected in the books - is so heavily loaded. There's no place to introduce new topics - the inclusion and deletion of topics is purely political. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Rounak felt that the pedagogic principles underlying the state and Eklavya approaches had very different empowering potentials.

We could be creative using that (Eklavya Social Science) book. We could discuss topics - women's rights, gender bias, the caste system, caste discrimination, democracy, the ways of government etc. That made spaces for some to open up and discuss their personal problems. Now it's all stopped. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Despite the fact that Eklavya books laid the foundations for more equitable teaching, gender was not deeply mainstreamed and gender issues and concerns were often understated. This left more gender-aware transactions down to individual teachers. Rounak used opportunities to integrate gender issues into her regular teaching, and gave an example of how she encouraged discussion and integrated exploration of gender issues:

We were discussing who did what at home. Some fetched water, some helped in cleaning utensils. One boy said that he prepared the food. I jokingly asked him "Is it so great that you cook for those 3-4 days<sup>90</sup>? Your mother cooks for all the others". I'd upset him, he started crying, saying his mother had died and he had to cook for his little sisters. We talked it through - in this way pupils open up and talk about their personal problems. Girls especially feel safe with me - they don't feel inhibited. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Rounak clearly found the books enabling, but other less gender-aware teachers received little direct guidance from them. Had they been more explicitly focussed, they may have enabled more teachers to have a more gendered impact. Conversely, however, such an explicit focus may have alienated families and undermined support for daughters' continued schooling.

### 9.3.2 Teacher skill, teaching repertoires and confidence

All six focus-class teachers had very different training, professional development, status and teaching trajectories. Santosh and Rounak were 'established-teachers' on

---

<sup>90</sup> He was referring to his mother's periods, when she would not cook.



permanent contracts whilst Deepak and Seema were para-teachers, both on permanent contracts by Phase 3, but with less job security and status. As Sanni and Lalit worked uniquely in the private sector, they had had no relations with the state and their job security and remuneration depended on their performance. Santosh, Rounak and Lalit were almost equally confident, whilst Deepak, Sanni and Seema were almost equally the inverse.

All, with the exception of Sanni, had first degrees and Deepak, Rounak and Seema held master's qualifications. Santosh, Rounak and Seema had completed full-time pre-service teacher training, whilst Deepak and Lalit had attended short-term government training. Sanni was self-taught. Lalit had considerable teaching experience in private and government (as a volunteer teacher) schools. By 2003, Santosh had 32 years of teaching experience and 20 years of association with Eklavya, from which he had derived motivation and satisfaction. Rounak had taught for 23 years and been associated with Eklavya for 16 years. Both had attended in-service trainings every year (as learners and resources persons): longer ones during the summer and shorter events throughout the year. Lalit had 8 years' experience, Deepak 4, Sanni 9 and Seema had 6 years: all had minimal experience of in-service professional development.

These trajectories, and the content and approach of teacher-preparation and development trainings clearly influenced skill levels, interactions with pupils, transaction of the curriculum and teaching repertoires. The explanation for Deepak's positive results in Phases 1 and 2 and his popularity in Phase 3 lay more in his diligence and egalitarian, respectful attitude to pupils and their families than in a particularly creative teaching approach. Seema's lack of confidence may have led to her concern to project 'good lessons' (during observations) and thus to her involvement of only competent articulate pupils.

Santosh and Rounak had a wider repertoire of skills than most teachers, and the consequences for pupil outcomes were evident. During Phase 3, Rounak found teaching English challenging. She lacked confidence in her own English skill, was frustrated by the textbook material, by pupils' lack of foundational skills and by the mismatch between their abilities and the level of the textbooks. Her approach to these

challenges, however, was to start studying English seriously and search out interesting and memorable ways (not in the textbook) to teach topics and difficult sections.

As Sanni and Lalit's livelihoods depended on the effectiveness of their teaching, often in relation to failing pupils, they had high incentives to teach well and be reflective. Whilst they were constrained by state syllabi, they were not constrained by negative colleagues or pessimistic professional regimes: their practice improved, many of their pupils were successful and their confidence grew.

### 9.3.3 Learner characteristics and academic foundations

Deepak's career as a para-teacher had started with a Standard 3 class in 1999. He taught this class for three years, until their Standard 5 board exam at the end of the 2001-2002 academic year (during which time Phase 2 fieldwork was conducted, and after which his contract became permanent). He said he had always taught as he was during this phase, and that he had not been previously burdened with non-school duty. Although I did not observe earlier teaching, five things supported these claims. Cohort 2 pupils wanted to come to school (attendance averaged 85%); more were succeeding than failing; they appreciated Deepak; their behaviour towards him was respectfully relaxed, and parents described him as 'the only teacher who works hard for our children'. This class had probably enjoyed a committed and regular teacher for three years: many had adequate foundations and, by the end of the year, were well prepared for the Standard 5 board exam.

In the third phase, Deepak obviously had a new class, many of whom were repeaters from other Vidya classes. Although these pupils regularly cited Sarita, Minakshi and Mohini as 'kind', they were almost unanimously emphatic, as the year drew to a close, that Deepak had been their 'best' teacher. But Deepak's Phase 3 performance was *severely* compromised, as he was sent on official duty, with no class cover, for almost 30% of annual contact time, predominantly in the first term. His new class, with weak foundations, thus started their year with greater teacher absence than presence. Although pupils were protectively insistent that this absence was not Deepak's fault, they were equally clear that they did not like coming to school at such times: attendance, of girls and boys, was consistently low.

Middle school teaching was often difficult as pupils did not have the requisite foundations, but the additional challenges experienced during Phase 3 were not caused by learner variables. They were caused by the change in two curricula frameworks, a year before Standard 8 board exams and after 2 years of studying very different syllabi.

#### 9.3.4 Teacher negotiation of professional regimes

Changes occurred in both schools between Phases 2 and 3 (introduced in Chapter 4) that had significant impact on teacher's sense of themselves as agentic professionals, and thus on their morale, and performance, and negative consequences for pupils' experiences and academic performance. Although Santosh and Rounak were more self-confident and experienced than Deepak, all three found themselves unable to negotiate with the state in ways that benefited their Cohort 3 pupils.

The changes in Vidya appeared to have the greatest impact on Deepak, as no others appeared to be repeatedly sent on official duty. The energy and diligence so evident in his Phase 2 practice seemed reduced. Deepak contested this, but was actively searching for new employment (which he claimed he had to find, due to the inadequate para-teacher salary), and acknowledged that his constant absences were undermining opportunities to feel the satisfaction he experienced from 'doing things well'.

The changes in Sagar affected the most committed teachers, who were highly influential in shaping school atmosphere, and therefore they affected the whole school. Santosh (keeping full teaching responsibilities) became acting head-teacher, just as the school became a Cluster Resource Centre (JSK) and co-ordinating responsibilities multiplied. No additional teachers were appointed, and although teachers supported Santosh, this increased their burdens, detracting further from teaching. Tensions challenged the evidently comfortable working atmosphere of Phase 2: essentially cordial/respectful attitudes persisted, but occasional negative outbursts appeared indicative of underling frustrations.

Fraught nerves and tense staff interactions were further strained by the disappointment felt by Santosh and Rounak over Eklavya's closure. Both felt the impact keenly, with negative affects on professional identity and optimism. Santosh and Rounak believed

that pupils' interests were better served by Eklavya syllabi, and therefore ignored in what they interpreted as an essentially 'political' move.

What pupils like, what they should be taught and what they want to learn is a very serious matter. But here these decisions are politically motivated. Despite our best efforts we're helpless to change anything, because at all levels the system is under the pressure from political groups and administrative authorities. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Both had contested the decision, pupils had written to the Chief Minister, and Rounak had taken a large pupil group to Bhopal<sup>91</sup> to join a protest march to the administration. The programmes were quickly closed, however, state syllabi reinstated, and rumours abounded about conduct on both sides of the pro/anti lobby.

The 2002-2003 academic year was doubly difficult for Santosh: he had to teach the new Science, which he and pupils found unstimulating, and his management burdens were multiplied, restricting class-contact (he taught Maths and Science to all years). The changed curriculum and reduced opportunities for teaching undermined pupil performance, which frustrated him after 32 years of committed teaching. Rounak appeared even more affected, was angry and demoralised, and requested that her Science and Social Science teaching responsibilities be transferred. Both felt that just as government was multiplying administrative burdens, they had ignored them and other experienced teachers. Both recognised that their attitudes were affecting pupil morale, however, so they tried to adjust and concentrate on preparing pupils for the board exam.

### 9.3.5 Teacher reflection and engagement with 'inequality'

Although the curricular approach can either enhance or undermine opportunities to develop pupils' critical agency, teacher variables also affect the transaction of any curriculum. Although teachers who had some association with Eklavya tended to be more reflective, this was not always the case: some teachers with no Eklavya involvement (but considerable experience) were highly reflective and some Eklavya-trained teachers (also with considerable experience) appeared non-reflective. If state 'transformatory' objectives were to be met through schooling, however, teachers needed

---

<sup>91</sup> The fact that this included girls and required an overnight stay was indicative of parents' trust in Rounak.

to reflect, to be confident that they could contribute to knowledge 'production' and to question the 'commonsense' and the status quo.

Santosh and Rounak were highly reflective and applied this reflection to their professional practices and curricular preferences. The interviews of Deepak, Sanni and Lalit indicated that they thought deeply about many issues, but there was less evidence that they reflected deeply on what should be taught at school, or why. Deepak seemed to be engaging with these issues tentatively, without a supportive peer or professional environment. The fact that the incomes of Sanni and Lalit depended on helping pupils pass whatever state exams they had to pass may have undermined any necessity to reflect on curricular foundations.

In common with many others, all six focus-class teachers were emphatic in their denunciation of caste-based discrimination. The attitudes, interactions and expectations of Santosh and Rounak (both Brahmins) embodied this denunciation. I was less familiar with those of Sanni and Lalit (both OBCs) but their denunciation of such discrimination was supported by the (often-extravagant) appreciation of them expressed by pupils of all social groups. Given their position in the caste hierarchy and their apparent lack of confidence (compared to other teachers) Deepak and Seema may have had to challenge discrimination more subtly, as they possibly had to face it on a personal and regular basis that was not immediately obvious to observation<sup>92</sup>.

As the attitudes and practice of twenty-three teachers did little to challenge classed, patriarchal gender regimes, these teachers did not have to negotiate community or family gender norms. Families considered them to be essentially 'good' and committed teachers and their practice did not include anything that could be considered as a challenge to families' gendered expectations for their daughters.

Given her commitment to gender equality, however, there were many times when Rounak's practice might have been interpreted as a challenge to families' understanding of what was appropriate for their daughters. She frequently admitted that she became angry and vocal wherever she witnessed discrimination:

---

<sup>92</sup> I felt it inappropriate to explore the caste dimensions of professional regimes. Interviews with more prosperous OBC Sagar families suggested that caste considerations affected their assessment of a Dalit teacher – unless the teacher was considered conscientious and committed to all pupils.

I insist on justice, it's immaterial who's doing wrong – man or woman. Often, I'm sitting in peace, but then see someone bothering another person and I lose my cool. I don't know either one, but I can't tolerate exploitation. I even told off a policeman once for eve teasing (harassment). (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Her professional practice was informed, however (and slightly constrained) by parental criteria: as she knew that girls had to live within their families and communities, she did not feel it appropriate to hold out the promise of gender identities that might have caused parents to withdraw daughters or caused the girls to experience excessive dissatisfaction, resentment or unhappiness. No families criticised Rounak for encouraging girls to resist family authority or aspire to inappropriate futures or identities: most were highly appreciative of her commitment to their daughters, and trusted her with them (even to the extent of allowing her to take them on a trip to Bhopal (which included two nights away from home) on a protest march against the closure of Eklavya programmes.

Opposition to Rounak's gender position and practice actually came more frequently from colleagues and educational professionals than from families. She explained that she frequently encountered opposition to the ways in which she encouraged girls and boys to behave and relate to one another.

I always used to argue with my superiors on this. They'd tell me "This is a village, you have to keep these children under control". I'd disagree. Why stop them talking to each other? I thought this was insane and protested. Why don't people let these children interact normally? Why don't they help developing normal and healthy behaviour? There were a couple of small instances and I was promptly summoned in the office and reprimanded, the principal said, "It's all because of you". (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

Given her sense of outrage at injustice, experience, reflection and confidence, Rounak was a strong individual and professional who continually fought to negotiate dominant regimes to her pupils' advantage. Reflecting on social change, she said:

I want to bring about a revolution, not by leading marches, but by remaining in my profession. Change does not occur overnight - it's a slow, lengthy process. (Rounak Tiwari-SFE4).

The 40% increase in the enrolment of girls in Sagar middle since Rounak joined the school in 1986, until the end of Phase 3 in 2003 (presented in Table 11, in the previous chapter) illustrates her long-term commitment and, arguably its impact.

School institutional and gender regimes, state curricula, teacher's professional repertoires and learner characteristics often combined in complex ways to frustrate the creation of optimal, enabling learning environments. Many teachers, however, were opposed to dominant institutional pessimism and professional inadequacy or misconduct. Of this group, those with the strongest 'sense of self' and self-confidence, who were reflective and who took a principled (personal and professional) stand against inequality were the most likely to negotiate inadequate environments to their pupils' advantage. Only one of the twenty-four teachers extended this profile to a principled personal and professional stand against gender inequality. Given her other strengths, she was able to also work within and negotiate local gender regimes to the added advantage of Sagar girls.

### 9.4 Conclusions and connections

This chapter has demonstrated that, in this context, the foundational gender issue was the level to which the curriculum, syllabus and school processes evoked/inspired interest. It was not only about the gendered response to a gendered curriculum: that was just one issue. Girls' only chance for increased autonomy was to stay on at school. The only way to stay on was to appear compliant and passive and to succeed. Success demanded effort, motivation and determination, yet girls got less family support and encouragement for their education than boys. If school processes were difficult and boring, it was easier for girls to be disinterested, and for this disinterest to be communicated to their families, resulting in a 'downward spiral' of less family commitment to their education, less support, and less academic success. If girls were provided with an adequate school environment and committed gender activist teachers like Rounak, however, the 'downward spiral' became a 'virtuous circle' (Drèze and Sen, 2002:179) of increasing interest, success and family support, with the added possibility of change to girls' commonsense assumptions about the nature of the differences between women and men.

## Chapter 10    Girls' educational and autonomy achievements

This chapter focuses on the girls of Cohort 3. It explores the nature and strength of their aspirations for further schooling and their reasons for valuing schooling. It investigates the factors contributing to the distribution of girls over the 'aspirational spectrum', highlighting 'vicious and virtuous' family-school circles and noting how girls' awareness of their gendered lives and families' 'four criteria' for continued schooling shaped girls' aspirations, behaviours and concern with school and learning processes. These concerns alone, touching on many aspects of teaching and learning, teacher professionalism and commitment, the place of tuition and their own future autonomy options are indicative of considerable reflective and autonomy achievements. The chapter ends with an analysis of girls' performance in the 2003 board exams, a synthesis of all the factors that encouraged more empowered aspirations, practices and outcomes, and a discussion of the reasons for the differences in girls' aspirations and achievements.

### 10.1    Girls' aspirations for further schooling

The chapter begins with an exploration of girls' distribution over the 'aspirational spectrum' and the values they attached to schooling.

#### 10.1.1    Girls' educational aspirations: six aspirational groups

Of all participants in the research, the Cohort 3 girls were the most aspirational and idealistic<sup>93</sup>. All 42 presented themselves as desperately committed to the 'idea' of schooling. All professed the belief that the further they studied, the better it would be for their futures. Despite being acutely aware of restricted educational opportunities and gendered parental priorities, 39 professed desire to remain in education until at least Standard 12.

---

<sup>93</sup> This draws on all data, and is clearly reflected by comparison of family, teacher and girls' coding tables, presented in Appendix 10, Tables 4 to 6.



Girls were highly aspirational about the returns to schooling and their persistence in school. Analysis of the same data used to identify families' aspirational categories indicated, however, that not all were as positive as their self-presentations in interviews: all girls wished to 'be educated', but not all wished to continue with their education. Desire for continued schooling ranged across six categories (only one of which was optimistic) from 'positive', through 'confused', 'undermined' and 'resistant' to emotionally 'torn'. 'Positive' girls wanted to progress to the next level of schooling and were confident that their families would allow them to. 'Confused' girls wanted to stay in school, were confused by their situations but were unwilling to accept family negativity. 'Undermined' girls had fought hard to stay in school, but had been undermined by the complex challenges they faced. 'Resistant' girls denied that the education offered had any value and 'indifferent' ones *presented* indifference to the value of education.

#### 10.1.2 The 'value/s' attached to school persistence

Although very few mothers were employed in the formal sector, many girls aspired to public-sphere employment (See Appendix 10, Table 5). Priya, although only 10, was surprised at the question of whether she would like to find employment after school:

Of course I'd like to work, how long can *anyone* rot inside the house for? (Priya Gelhot-VC2E).

It seemed that she had heard this expression more than once. Parul, although failing academically, liked to dream:

I'd like to work in an office where I'm the boss, where colleagues and subordinates obey my orders and I have visitors from other offices. (Parul Kaithwas-VU15C).

Diminutive Rani, despite her appearance and age (11), had thought about the issues.

I'd like to work. But this side people don't treat working-women well. They ask, 'Are you unhappy with your husband's income that you want to go out to earn?' (Rani Kaithwas-VU20D).

Almost all Sagar girls wanted to work outside the home, but only Rakhi made sure I was not referring to labour.

If you mean labour, then my answer's no. But if you mean a 'proper' job, then I'd like to marry into a family who will let me work. (Rakhi Khorey-SC15I).

All girls valued school for the opportunity it gave them to get away from home, have time to themselves and to play. This valorisation went a long way in explaining why girls were not more upset when teachers were absent.

*Taab masti hoti hai*, then it's time for fun (naughtiness). We have lot of fun. We play kabaddi, kho and many other games. (Kanchan Kaithwas-VU19D).

Primary girls enjoyed the long break times, despite the hazardous playground and lack of equipment. Sagar had no playground, but girls still appreciated break-time opportunities to relax together, something reportedly impossible during tuition.

If we study hard in tuitions, we can enjoy ourselves a bit in school. If we get bored, we have a bit of fun, then get back to it. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

Above anything else, every girl insisted that an education (where they were actually learning) was always better than no education, even if it did not result in obvious financial returns.

No, education is never worthless. If I don't get a (salaried) job I can give tuition and earn that way. With education I can manage household accounts and correspondence. (Rakhi Khorey-SC15I).

These aspirations were highly realistic, given the lack of employment opportunities in villages. Most girls also valued the fact that they would not be dependent on anyone and would be able to help both their parents and children.

With education I could do any kind of work, teach children, give tuition, manage accounts and any important work my parents might need. (Lekha Sutar-SC9E).

Leela emphasised these daily returns, perhaps due to what she perceived to be the imminent end of her schooling (a perception that actually turned out to be unfounded).

With education you can bring your children up well, help them with their studies, manage household accounts and write letters – things like that. (Leela Rehlot-SI17A).

Leela sometimes valued schooling, sometimes denied that it had any inherent value. These contradictions may have been indicative of her attempts to resolve her feelings about the fact that her family had denied her the opportunity of further study.

Finally, a few Standard 5 and ten Standard 8 girls often talked of the intrinsic satisfaction of doing things well, of academic mastery and of ‘scoring’ more than boys in their classes.

I get *seekh*, knowledge with education – I like it. (Madhuri Sarvan-SC11F).

The ‘intrinsic satisfaction’ of gaining knowledge was a difficult concept, however, and girls’ enjoyment of academic mastery was communicated more by everyday occurrences, by their determination, by insistence that they ‘liked coming to school’ (if teachers taught) and by Standard 5 girls’ appreciation of, and reluctance to criticise Deepak.

### Section reflections

Girls’ aspiration for further schooling was not a school-affect: they came to school with these aspirations, which were then either undermined or encouraged. Despite their gendered lives and restricted opportunities, and their awareness of these dynamics, they valued schooling for many reasons: instrumental, positional and intrinsic. Most welcomed the thought of public-sphere employment (not labouring) and recognised that they would need more than 5 or 8 years of schooling to compete for it. Most aspired, therefore, to be educated until the end of formal schooling, although many (predominantly from Vidya) clearly recognised that these aspirations would not be fulfilled.

## 10.2 Home-school-community factors shaping girls’ aspirations and practices

This section explores how the complex intersection of family, school and girl factors, and girls’ acute awareness of gendered family concerns influenced girls’ aspirations and behaviours.

Girls’ desire and determination to stay in school was affected by factors associated with home, school and the local environment. The most important encouraging school

factors were the absence of physical/sexual threat either at or on the route to school, an enabling environment, academic success and enjoyment of school. The most important home-based factors were family support and enthusiasm for education. There was an intricate circuitous relationship among home and school-based factors, as each one impacted on all the others: academic success enhanced enjoyment and parental support, whilst parental support enhanced academic success. Girls with more supportive parents tended to perform better, and better performance enhanced parental enthusiasm. Conversely, girls with the least supportive parents tended to perform less well, which further undermined parental enthusiasm.

Table 16 illustrates girls' aspirations and assessments of future schooling opportunities. Families in the two left-hand columns were more 'optimistic', whilst those in the right were more 'undermined'. (Family income group is displayed to the right of each name).

**Table 16: Girls' aspirations/confidence regarding further schooling**

Families confident or aspirational Girls positive				#	Families undermined Girls mixed/mainly undermined			
Vidya		Sagar			Vidya		Sagar	
Sunanda Prasad	B	Saroj Sahu	A	1	Bina Phurvi	A Undermined	Lajwanti Chaudri	A Undermined
Priya Gehlot	C	Lajwanti Sahu	A	2	Suman Gehlot	A Undermined	Leela Rehlot	A Resistant
Shobha Gehlot	C	Jagruiti Sahu	B	3	Damini Gehlot	A Undermined	Damini Sutar	A Undermined
Reena Singh	C	Chitra Sahu	C	4	Rewa Prasad	B Undermined	Kanchan Banwar	C Torn
Aruna Kaithwas	E	Pratima Singh	C	5	Rashmi Dohar	C Confused	Bali Singh	G Torn
Sujata Khorey	A	Kanchan Gourey	D	6	Parul Kaithwas	C Undermined		
Ananya Kaithwas	A	Alka Khorey	D	7	Aradhna Uikey	C Indifferent		
Ananya Nuikey	B	Usha Chhalotrey	E	8	Anu Khan	C Undermined		
Sujata Saini	B	Lekha Sutar	F	9	Kamini Kalsi	C Undermined		
		Anamika Khorey	F	10	Kanchan Kaithwas	D Confused		
		Madhuri Sarvan	I	11	Rani Kaithwas	D Confused		
		Sharmila	I	12	Sudha Kaithwas	D Confused		
		Alka Chhalotrey	I	13	Damini Chandel	D Undermined		
		Meena Sahu	I	14				
		Rakhi Khorey	I	15				
IG		IG			IG		IG	

IG – Income Group

Where parents were 'confident' or 'aspirational', there was a significant correlation between the attitudes of girls and families. Of the 24 families in this category (9 from Vidya and 15 from Sagar), all daughters were optimistic, even daughters from families with few resources.

Where families were more 'undermined', however, girls' attitudes were complexly informed. Of the 42 girls, the families of 18 (13 from Vidya and 5 from Sagar) were

either 'undermined' or 'indifferent'. Twelve of the girls mirrored this lack of family confidence, but six (4 from Vidya and 2 from Sagar) resisted it. These girls were confused by their situations, but unwilling to accept defeat. The Vidya girls recognised their constrained opportunities, but were determined to keep trying. The two Sagar girls wanted to study further, but were too unhappy living with relatives to do so. They had decided to return to their natal homes, despite there being no nearby schools. One, Kanchan (SI19C), was married within a year of the fieldwork, and may have known about these plans at the time.

Girls appreciated the gendered nature of their existence: they were highly conscious of parents' present jurisdiction, and recognised that their freedom was constrained compared to that of brothers and male relatives. They knew that different rules governed almost all aspects of the home-lives of boys and girls. They recognised the different family aspirations for and interactions with girls and boys and saw how educational aspirations fitted within this wider framework. Most acknowledged that their families had higher educational aspirations for their brothers than for them, and denounced such gendered preferences.

It's wrong, girls and boys are equal and we can also look after parents in old age.  
(Lajwanti Chaudri-SU16A).

Some girls did express concern with lack of parental concern for education per se, for their brothers as well as for themselves, and the lack of home environments for study.

All, perhaps with the exception of Pratima, felt that marriage was the single non-negotiable of their lives, that arrangements would be entirely/almost entirely in the hands of their families. Nearly all felt that in-laws would be stricter and less concerned for them than their parents were. Over 75% felt that their marriage would be arranged by the time they reached 18, whilst 25% hoped for a few *more* years' delay to finish their education. They acknowledged the practice of marrying girls before 18, especially in villages, but older ones were aware of recent government emphasis on the prohibition of marriage before 18, and a few said they would use this to their advantage.

If they get me married before 18, tell me, who will go to jail? (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

Mirroring parental feelings, all but two girls (Rewa Prasad and Kanchan Kaithwas) said the prospect of getting married and leaving their families for their in-laws made them sad. Five girls (Parul, Lajwanti Chaudri, Lekha, Sharmila and Rakhi) stated that they would prefer not to marry, but stay with and support their own parents.

I often feel that if my parents allowed me to, I would always like to stay with them, I would serve them and won't go anywhere else. (Rakhi Khorey-SC15I).

The articulation of this desire may have been encouraged by Rounak's own life, but girls knew that no education could afford them that much autonomy. (Lajwanti Chaudri was also married within a year of the interviews).

Girls did not dwell on the possibility of their parents stopping their education, however, but focussed on the immediate present. A few Sagar girls admitted that the possibility of their in-laws prohibiting them from taking up formal sector employment did challenge their determination when cramming became *particularly* tedious in the last stages before exams. Saroj was definitely not among them:

Why fear about things stored in future? Today my only concern is how best to get an education, and that's exactly what I'm concentrating on. (Saroj Sahu-SCA1).

Girls may not have all been able to articulate familial criteria for continued schooling, but values, expectations and aspirations were communicated through myriad daily interactions, as Lajwanti expressed:

According to my parents, a girl should obey her parents, respect them, help with housework, study hard and become a good wife. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

Although girls were located across a continuum in terms of their agreement with these values, their awareness of them was acute, as was their awareness that they must demonstrate that they ascribed to them for schooling to continue. Family expectations and girls' awareness of them informed girls' behaviour and self-presentations.

### 10.2.1 Concern with 'reputational' safety

The physical features of girls' home and school environments, routes to school and teacher expectations and interactions were beyond girls' control, but they knew their

conduct in these domains was deemed very much under it. Even at Vidya, where girls and boys often played together, this was acknowledged by boys, but denied by girls.

No I never play with boys - sometimes her brother and his friends. But only with smaller boys, not the bigger ones. (Priya Gehlot-VC2E).

I used to play with boys but my brother's friends saw me and complained to my brother. My *bhaiyya* warned me against it. So now I play only with the girls of my class. (Aradhna Uikey-VU16C).

Sudha reiterated a common parental justification for families' contained school investments for daughters, referring to the threats posed to sexual and reputational safety:

They say *jamana theek nahi hai*, times are not good for girls. (Sudha Kaithwas-VU21D).

One of the Sagar boys outlined a clear example of parental apprehensions:

My sister was not sent to school after she cleared 3<sup>rd</sup> standard, because my parents were afraid of her making friendships with boys. (Standard 8 boy).

Most Sagar girls felt that they could have friendships with boys, but all stressed their trustworthiness and ascription to family values.

We're like brothers and sisters. Of course we talk, cut jokes and that, but what's wrong in that? I don't know about affairs here because I don't pay attention to nonsense. I go to school to study then come back home. Parents have to trust their daughters and girls should not do anything to disappoint them (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

Leela, however, often expressing opinions contrary to the rest of the class, appeared to deny the possibility of mixed-sex friendships.

In my opinion it is not possible, especially in villages. People say bad things about a girl if she's friendly with boys. (Leela Rehlol-SI17A).

She was, however, not referring to the possibility of friendships, but to the ways they were interpreted by villagers, which always had more severe consequences for girls than for boys.

**Box 3: Rewa Prasad's perspective. (VU13B)** One girl, Rewa, stood apart. She talked freely about romantic love, affairs, her attraction to boys and desire for freedom to go out with local girls. She was very attentive to one of her older classmates on a school outing. But hers was a very particular case: Rewa was the girl who had been married, returned home and for whom negotiations were underway for a second marriage. She openly expressed deep resentment of her parents and riled against what she described as her domestic exploitation. Although she was capable and used to cherish a dream to be a teacher, she claimed that her recent past and her domestic duties robbed her of energy and enthusiasm for study. As she had given up hope of further schooling, it was already too late to gain anything by presenting herself as the 'ideal' girl.

### 10.2.2 Requirement that autonomy be 'contained'

Many girls were very aware that continued school attendance might be jeopardised if they appeared too questioning. The theme of being responsible and mature was woven through their compromises between their desires and those of their parents. Sunanda, learning from watching her older sister Rewa's life, and her arguments with her parents, projected herself as the image of self-control.

Whatever freedom I get from my parents I will not waste time in silly things. I want to get a job, and only marry at 30, after I get one. (Sunanda Prasad-VC1B).

Parul, equally aspirational but even more aware that her schooling was about to end, expressed the contradiction simply:

I often dream that I become an educated woman and I teach children. But .. I also wish to be obedient to my parents. (Parul Kaithwas-VU15C).

Similarly, girls were afraid to even raise the topic of family educational aspirations, in case this was taken to reflect too much independence.

According to my parents, girls should behave well with everyone, especially elders. They always say, 'If your character's good, if you get good grades, you can study'. (Kanchan Gourey-SC6C).

All Standard 8 girls did considerable housework, were obedient and submissive at home and were afraid to question family values and decisions. Rakhi said she "kept her head down" and did what her parents told her, to "keep everyone sweet".

I only wish I'm able to study well, don't get into any quarrels, and that there are no problems with me so that my parents let me complete my education. (Rakhi Khorey-SC15I).



Half the girls said that families would not ask their opinion of prospective husbands, that they probably would not meet them, and, if they did but and did not like them, they would be too afraid to tell anyone, including their mothers, sisters or female relatives.

We can't object. Whatever elders say, we have to do. We can't put our views. Even if I am not comfortable with him (a husband), I'll compromise, try to make him happy. (Anamika Khorey-SC10F).

Two girls suggested that they did challenge parental caste attitudes, but that such behaviour made families angry, and many girls cited family anger as something that persistently undermined willpower and determination to study.

I don't follow it at all, I accept water from anybody but I can't bring friends home. I try to explain to my parents that there was nothing like caste, but they humiliate me and demand how I can know anything about caste. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

I feel all are equal but because some families eat certain things my parents stop me from touching certain children. If I resist their attitude they shout at me. (Lekha Sutar-SC9E).

These references highlight a major impact of mixed schooling: the caste attitudes of families and girls were markedly different. Most pupils and all girls rejected casteism, and whilst some boys in each class admitted that they did see people differently according to caste, almost 90% of parents followed it strictly. The only families who rejected it were from castes/jatis at the base of the hierarchy.

### 10.2.3 Demand for genuine academic success

Girls believed that continued school attendance depended on passing end of year exams and demonstrating genuine benefit from being in school.

My dad has said that if I pass I can continue, otherwise *chulha phukayenge*, he will make me work in the kitchen. (Shobha Gehlot-VC3C).

My mother said I could study as much as I wanted, but because I'm weak she's told me that if I fail this year too, she'll discontinue my studies. (Aradhna Uikey-VU16C).

Girls also recognised that teachers sometimes helped them in exams because they feared that girls (and sometimes boys) who failed might have their schooling terminated.

If we fail then parents might not teach us further, this was teachers' only fear. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

The biggest theme echoed by all girls was the difficulty of the curriculum: despite wanting to be in school, schoolwork was highly demanding and often demotivating, and rendered more so by considerable domestic work, either eroding time or energy for study, or opportunities to play and relax (which were enjoyed by brothers).

The younger Vidya girls were still considered children at home, and therefore not burdened with domestic tasks, but eldest daughters always bore greater domestic burdens, even those as young as Ananya Kaithwas, Bina and Damini Gehlot (11 and 12 years). Damini, particularly, was sometimes left in charge of her younger siblings for days at a time, while her parents went searching for labour. As girls got older, domestic demands multiplied, whether they were in primary school, or had progressed. Parul, sitting her Standard 5 exam for the third time, reported extensive domestic labour (and she had a 3 km walk to school).

**Box 4: Parul Kaithwas' day. (VU15C)** "I get up early in the morning at about 4, and prepare lunch for my mother, then she goes to work. After that I bring the cattle in and feed them. I leave for school at seven and come back at about 12.30. I cook lunch for my sisters, brothers and me, wash up, then wash clothes, feed the goats and set them free. Then I go to fetch the water, it's quite far, by this time, it's 6 pm. I cook for the family, then try to study 'til 10. Then I wash up, clean the kitchen and go to sleep at midnight. My elder sister is soon going to get married - that means more work and less sleep. I skip school at least once/twice a week because of too much work. Sometimes I can't do homework."

Although no other girls reported being as burdened as Parul, many older girls and a few younger girls from the poorest Standard 5 families reported considerable domestic demands, limiting their opportunities or energy for study outside school or tuition.

Rewa Prasad (the Vidya girl introduced in Box 3) complained bitterly of constant domestic responsibilities, and of her perception of her parents' unfair treatment:

Here I work for the whole day and still my mother keeps taunting me. If I have stomach ache or backache and I lie down for a while my mother starts shouting at me. ... My parents are making life miserable. (Rewa Prasad-VU13B).

Rewa's outspoken criticism of her parents was unique in the sample, but as introduced in the boxed case-study above, she felt that there was no longer anything to be gained from projecting herself as the 'ideal daughter' of most parental aspirations.

The average workload of Sagar girls was 3 hours daily, and was related to meals, cleaning, collecting water, washing clothes and caring for livestock. Girls' sibling-care responsibilities were continuous, but were never included in their estimations of daily hours worked.

I have to do everything, right from washing-up, sweeping, mopping and cooking. It takes about 2-3 hours a day. (Sharmila Khorey-SC12I).

Dusk fell after 6 pm and the evening electricity supply was highly erratic, making the use of a candle or lamp necessary for homework and eliminating the possibility to watch television. For those girls who spent 9 hours daily in school or tuition, an hour en route and three doing housework (when brothers were playing, studying or watching television), there was no time to relax, study or play by daylight, or opportunity to broaden their world-views through watching the television.

Damini, with a complex home background, a sick mother and unsympathetic father, had to work twice as hard as most others, for about 6 hours daily.

Sometimes there's so much work that I don't feel like doing my homework, and I just sleep. (Bali Singh-SI20G).

Her father stopped her from sitting a paper during the Standard 8 exam, claiming he needed her at the brick kiln where they worked. Rounak took me there to request Damini's presence for the following papers, as he had already allowed her to study for an entire year in preparation. She was allowed to attend all subsequent exams, and sat the one she had missed during the re-sits, but ultimately failed and was married within a year.

#### 10.2.4 Girls' demonstrable desire and determination to study

Vidya girls did not comment much about determination, but few Sagar ones were willing to admit that anything *really* overcame their desire and determination for success. As most felt that their education would be stopped by 18 at the latest, their greatest concern was to progress as far up the educational ladder as possible by this time. Late admission, failures and repeating classes had severe consequences, and every effort had to be made to avoid them. Saroj, highly articulate and confidently capable, stressed the efforts she made to keep studying.

I've no concerns if my parents allow me to study: I'm even ready to live with my grandmother to complete my education. I try my best to be disciplined and strong willed. However tired and exhausted, I keep working, keep studying but there comes a point when I have to shut my books, watch TV or just sleep. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

Kanchan Gourey, also a high performer and stubbornly determined, kept her gaze focussed not only on the present, but also just on schooling.

Even if my in-laws don't let me work, I'll study now. Even though I have so much work at home, I'm determined to study. Even when cramming gets boring, I do the easy ones first and the difficult ones later. (Kanchan Gourey-SC6C).

Kanchan once rebuked my field assistant for referring to the Head-Boy and Head-Girl (which she was) as 'Mr and Mrs', asking him if he was not aware that rumours started from such thoughtless comments, and that rumours could end a girl's schooling. She was not a passive victim, but very obviously someone trying to engineer circumstances to pursue desires for more schooling and greater autonomy. Anamika, another high achiever, echoed the same determination:

I force myself to memorise, somehow I manage to concentrate, even when I'm distracted, I try. Whatever the future holds, we should go on studying – then if my in-laws don't let me work, I won't work. (Anamika Khorey-SC10F).

Although all Sagar girls stressed how they tried to study, less high achievers admitted that various things undermined determination:

When people tell me 'What's the point of studying, when your life will be cooking and household things?' - then my determination gets a knock. (Lekha Sutar-SC9E).

Bali had the ability and confidence to carry on her schooling, but she said she was too unhappy with relatives to do so.

My *didi's* daughter often picks quarrels with me and asks 'Why does she live with us'? It feels bad to hear these things away from home. I don't want to go to a (boarding) hostel, I want to go home. (Bali Singh-SI20G).

Her 'Cinderella-like' story was particularly sad, as most of her time was taken up caring for many younger children in the clearly affluent compound of her sister's *sasural*. Had she been a boy, she could have stayed with her widower father in their home village and

travelled to middle and high school by bus. As it was, she had spent three unhappy years and her schooling was to be terminated after Standard 8.

### Section reflections

Girls were completely aware of their limited autonomy and of family jurisdiction. They were also acutely aware that the one arena where they might exercise limited autonomy was that of their schooling. As girls wanted to attend school, attendance was in itself an autonomy gain, and staying in school, for each extra year, was the greatest aspiration and achievement. Given the strength of family jurisdiction over girls' lives, those most determined to continue their schooling demonstrated (through behaviour, attitudes and opinions) that they ascribed to family values and criteria for continued schooling. While girls felt that it was relatively easy to satisfy families' first two conditions (related to reputational safety and 'contained autonomy'), the second two (evidence of genuine mastery and enjoyment of schooling) were more challenging. Girls' primary concerns were, therefore, related to school and academic success, and it is on these concerns that the exploration now focuses.

## 10.3 Primary concerns: related to school and performance

Cohort 3 girls had a considerable amount to say about almost every aspect of the teaching/learning environments offered in school: regardless of aspirational group, they expressed similar concerns with all school-related processes. They wanted environments that made it easier for them to enjoy school, want to continue, and succeed. Their commentary on school environments barely contained reference to gendered 'realities'/practices. Although boys could have equally articulated these concerns, their relevance was not in their content, but in the fact that they were issues of concern to girls.

There was considerable difference in the level of reflection and comment offered by Standard 5 and 8 girls. The issues raised most frequently by Vidya girls were teacher regularity and time keeping, and teacher attitudes and behaviour towards them. Sagar girls were also concerned with these issues, but their discussions extended to curriculum, teaching style and teacher integrity, and the need for and nature of tuition.

Difference in age and maturity influenced responses, but pupils' experience of different educational provision was also significant. Standard 5 girls had little educational experience from which to draw comparisons. Most of them reported indifferent and even abusive teachers in the years before they joined Deepak Patodia's class, and even the learning environment he was able to facilitate for them was highly compromised. Standard 8 pupils had a broader educational experience: they were among the privileged few who had made the transition from primary to middle school, and so had had three years experience of better schooling. They had, additionally, had at least two committed and reflective teachers and experienced two very different curricula in Science and Social Science: the Eklavya one for two years and the state one for their final year. These Standard 8 girls possibly had a more deeply varied educational experience than that of most pupils of a comparative level in the state.

### 10.3.1 Physical condition of school

Pupils' comments on the physical condition of the school demonstrated that they not only felt the inadequacies, but recognised that facilities provided for them were inferior to those made available to more affluent/privileged groups. They neither, however, focused on infrastructural inadequacies of their learning environments, nor mentioned them when asked for opinions on discouraging environmental features.

Lajwanti Sahu, from Sagar, referred to problems experienced during the rainy season, at the July start of the school year, but she minimised their significance due to the positive outcome of more holiday.

It's difficult and rain fills the school. When there's too much, we get a holiday.  
(Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

In contrast with parents repeated reference to the inadequacy of school infrastructure and environment<sup>94</sup>, this was the only pupil comment. This silence may have arisen because such inadequacies were perceived as the least serious of pupils' problems; because many themselves lived in inadequate conditions, or because they felt they had no right to comment.

---

<sup>94</sup> Many parents raised the issues vociferously, however, and referred to problems caused by rain through leaking roofs and the lack of toilets, drinking water and seating mats.

Surprisingly, adolescent girls did not mention the absence or inadequacy of toilet facilities. A few Sagar girls lived close enough to go home, but most must have been disadvantaged. Shruti (from my home) suggested that girls' lack of comment reflected considerable embarrassment and silence around these issues (which would have been compounded by the presence of my male field assistant). I felt it did, and that it reflected the stoicism and brave 'making do' evident not only in many pupil accounts, but also in numerous daily conversations.

### 10.3.2 Teacher regularity and timing

The one issue of unmitigated concern to all pupils, not only the girls, was teacher regularity. Pupils noted and hated teacher absence, especially when it was regular. They obviously preferred having a teacher in class to having none, which in Vidya School was often an achievement in itself.

When he's not present there's no use going to school. I don't feel like studying. Boys tease us - girls and boys. They throw rubbish, create a riot, then we all get told off. (Ananya Nuikey-VA8B).

But teacher presence was insufficient: the teacher had to actually teach and maintain order when s/he was there.

School doesn't start on time, either there are no teachers or few pupils, there's no fixed time for breaks, and many bunk after lunch. If Deepak-Sir's absent, another teacher may come for 5-10 minutes, then there's chaos, people get thrashed. I feel very bad. I hardly get any time to do my homework, but I do, then our sir doesn't come. (Parul Kaithwas-VU15C).

Pupils also noted teachers' timing integrity: they noticed if they dawdled on the way to the class and/or ended a lesson early. Referring to Santosh, Saroj was resentful as she described his Phase 3 practice, which she noted was very different to his earlier commitment:

First he used to be on time, take class regularly, but now, when he feels like it, then he takes class - and comes 5-10 minutes late. When he doesn't, he doesn't. They - classmates - misbehave, don't listen to monitors, no one can study. Yes .. it makes us angry. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

Although pupils appreciated early endings when actually in class, their reflection on such occurrences showed that they undermined their respect for and appreciation of teachers.

### 10.3.3 Teacher attitude and behaviour with pupils

Pupils were very aware of teacher attitude and behaviour towards them. They recognised respect and disrespect and noted if their teachers cared or not. Cohort 3 Vidya pupils' appreciation of respectful and caring teachers appeared almost excessive, but this dimension of teacher practice was fundamental. It was easy to tell if a teacher respected or cared about pupils: many appeared not to and classes sometimes bordered on abusive. In this context, I understood pupil gratitude: the sad reality was that so many pupils' expectations did not go beyond 'not having' an abusive teacher.

Deepak's pupils appreciated him as the best and most engaged teacher they had ever had, even while simultaneously admitting that he was absent for 30% of the time.

No, our sir *always* teaches well. He is the best, he teaches well, his behaviour is good towards us and he trusts us. (Kanchan Kaithwas-VU19D).

Vidya pupils were less articulate than Sagar ones in defining the specifics of what it was that made them appreciate their teacher so much, and they were almost surprised when asked to elaborate on responses. The dubious, quizzical looks of some made me feel they thought my questions naïve: 'good' teachers were those who cared about their pupils and their jobs, who 'behaved nicely' and 'taught well'.

Deepak sir is the best teacher so far. Why? He teaches very well, what else? (Reena Singh-VC2C).

No he always teaches - earnestly. He doesn't act-out being a good teacher. (But he does teach more before exams). (Rewa Prasad-VU13B).

Over half the Standard 5 class thought that, beyond the respect shown by Deepak, no teachers *really* cared about them. They may have been correct, as no teacher was sufficiently concerned about corporate or individual progress to reflect deeply on their practice or the system, and strive to change either or both.

I don't know of any teacher who thinks about my future or is concerned about my welfare. (Ananya Kaithwas-VA7A).

Pupils were highly conscious of caste and class-based discrimination. Although most suggested that teachers never displayed discriminatory behaviour in school, some from



both classes contested this. Bina and her mother reported regular victimisation from classmates and discrimination from teachers.

That *motivali* (fat) madam asked me my caste. When I told her I'm a Gond she asked other girls to get water for her. (Bina Phurvi-VU10A).

Two Sagar boys cried while recounting caste-based humiliations by a previous teacher and others were sophisticated in their analysis of how teachers' apparently egalitarian self-presentation in school was a front for deeply entrenched caste prejudices.

No girls thought teachers discriminated in favour of boys. Many acknowledged that they were treated more harshly, but none cited this as victimisation. Most (with the notable exceptions of Rewa Prasad-VU13B and Kanchan Gourey-SC6C) projected themselves and boys as very different: the latter as ill-disciplined, rowdy and deserving such treatment. The fact that a few boys, especially those at higher schooling levels, were introvert and did nothing to merit such treatment was not commented on.

Sagar pupils were characteristically more articulate and detailed in their assessments of teachers and their reasons for appreciating them. They may have been more discriminating, but they shared Vidya pupils' perspectives on the foundational attitudes of 'good teachers': they behaved 'nicely', taught well and cared. Saroj reflected that her best teacher was from her primary school.

Sharma-sir was the best because he understood children very well. He never ever beat any child and taught with love and care. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

These girls articulated a link between engagement and being a good teacher: if teachers cared, and if they had good attitudes, they were more likely to behave 'nicely' with pupils and teach well.

All girls had talked of the many daily challenges and discriminations against which they had to contend. Many appreciated the role model offered by Rounak, her concern with their lives, the fact that they could talk to her about personal issues.

From her, we have learnt honesty, prestige, 'workmanship', that we should never give pain to anybody: she says we should dream, and achieve our dreams. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

She keeps encouraging us to work hard and be self reliant and strong to face the world. That is why I respect Rounak-madam very much. (Rakhi Khorey-SC15I).

Her behaviour's good, she doesn't discriminate and treats everyone equally. (Damini Sutar-SI18A).

All teach us how to behave, but the way Rounak-madam explains these things is unique. I respect her most, because she teaches well, tells us the difference between good and bad, she encourages us too. (Leela Rehlol-SI17A).

Rounak, however, stood almost alone in principled opposition to dominant gender regimes. Lajwanti Sahu brought the conversation back to the daily reality of gendered life in a village with little opportunity for autonomy:

We get motivated for some time, yes, but then it vanishes. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

Rounak felt the lack of wider community support in her negotiations for greater autonomy, but the girls felt it even more keenly.

Four or five pupils did not express such appreciation of Rounak, and the response of one was quite negative. The tension appeared connected with Rounak's lack of support for this girl's elder sister. Whatever the causes, this case illustrates the role of personality, of both counsellor and counselled, in facilitating or undermining girls' readiness to seek advice and support, and underlines the importance of having more than one approachable and confidential adult in school environments.

#### 10.3.4 Curriculum

Vidya girls had very little to say about the actual content of lessons, but the majority insisted that, when their teacher was present and teaching, they enjoyed school.

I like it very much when Sir's there, he tells us many interesting things, which can be useful. When he's not there, it's boring. Everybody starts making noise. Reena and I thought we would teach them, but nobody listened to us. (Sunanda Prasad-VC1B).

Vidya boys readily admitted that lesson tedium was a major factor in their poor performance and regular absence. Girl's insistence that they enjoyed school, despite the poor quality of their experiences, was indicative of the gender dynamics impacting on attendance. Boys did not have to express satisfaction with and appreciation of school in

order to ensure continued enrolment. They could express dislike for, and disregard of, school, be known to play truant, neglect schoolwork and homework, and their parents would still persist in sending them to school and pressurising them to work hard and succeed<sup>95</sup>.

Sagar pupils had a considerable amount to say about curriculum. Of 50 pupils, 49 preferred the Eklavya Science and Social Science curricula to reinstated state ones. Saroj encapsulated many pupils' opinion:

In Eklavya's book we used to experiment and do a lot, but in this one there are no experiments, we can't learn anything. Before, if teachers didn't understand, they could write to Eklavya for guidance and they'd get it. In this book we can't understand anything - there's nothing to do or learn. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

Pupil interviews revealed the extent of appreciation for Eklavya syllabi, and of the sorrow at its closure. The two most frequently articulated reasons for Sagar pupils' appreciation of the Eklavya curriculum were that Eklavya books were both more interesting and more easy to follow, in terms of logic, cohesion, concepts and vocabulary. Given this foundation, it was easier to study from them, understand the concepts and pass in exams. Lajwanti Sahu and Saroj, in a joint interview, outlined their position on the two syllabi.

In that one we used to understand the questions and answers, but in this we have just got to mug it up. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

Government closed it down because it thinks children don't learn anything from Eklavya books. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

But we think that we don't learn anything from these (government) ones, and we could do something ourselves, understand those (Eklavya) ones and learn. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

We went to Bhopal to protest. Yes, they listened, but they didn't pay attention. If they had, they wouldn't have stopped them. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

Damini Sutar said that the whole class had resented the closure of the Eklavya syllabi, and that many raised their voices, but with no effect.

---

<sup>95</sup> As with the Sagar boys' nonchalance, this gendered phenomenon merits further research.

Every pupil wrote to the minister but no reply came, and when the President (of the District Council) came we told him also, and nothing happened about it. (Damini Sutar-SI18A).

They were upset that the government had changed their syllabi and pedagogy two terms before what would be, for some, the most important and possibly terminal examinations of their school careers.

The only pupil to articulate some dissatisfaction with Eklavya books was Ramdas, whose attendance was irregular, partly due to the boredom of repeating Standard 8, but even he said that whilst the change gave him a different book to study for his second year, it severely reduced his chances of passing the next time (and he did fail). Other pupils emphasised that the state books made academic success and comprehension more illusive. Jagruti Sahu was particularly dissatisfied with the new social studies.

I like every subject except social studies, now there's too much to cram. I prefer to understand, and then write. In the old book you could do something with your own understanding, you could at least try. (Jagruti Sahu-SC3A).

Chitra admitted that she found it hard to concentrate during the new Science and Social Science.

Sometimes I don't feel interested. I don't enjoy Science and Social Science now. I feel sleepy in those periods. You just stay sitting, lost in thoughts. We have to cram – we've no choice. (Chitra Sahu-SC4B).

Then Madhuri gave a graphic description of the demands of cramming, and the inferior returns to it.

I really enjoy Maths and English – but there's too much to cram in every other subject now. My eyes, my hands, even my mouth aches. ... Why my mouth? If you have to repeat the same thing again and again don't you think your mouth would ache? Then my head starts aching. Cramming's very boring, it's better to understand and then write your answers. (Madhuri Sarvan-SC11F).

Madhuri obviously crammed very effectively, however, as she improved on her Standard 7 rank of eleventh position to gaining the highest score in the Standard 8 board exam.

This dislike of cramming was summarised by Lajwanti Chaudri who, failing the board exams and both chances to resit, had to leave school.

It can be tricky to cram without understanding anything. (Lajwanti Chaudri-SU16A).

Following Eklavya curricula, academic success was based on understanding. Following the state curricula, it was based on rote learning, hours of cramming and disengaged reproduction in exams. Teachers, pupils and families all thought that the need for tuition was magnified following state syllabi.

### 10.3.5 Teaching style and teacher integrity

Pupils were also keenly concerned with teaching style and teacher integrity. Although they did not articulate it in such terms, they were concerned with professional practice: they had a standard against which they measured teachers, and many were found wanting.

Vidya pupils found it difficult to explain what they understood to be good teaching style, and even where they did not like things, they did not project this as teacher weakness: more as a statement of fact. Teacher explanation, however, appeared key to their concepts of a good teacher.

He's very good to us. He explains things twice, thrice. (Reena Singh-VC2C).

Deepak-Sir sir is the best. He teaches very well and explains everything well on the blackboard also. (Aruna Kaithwas-VC5E).

I like Deepak-Sir because he teaches well and explains the difficult portions very well (Ananya Kaithwas-VA7A).

Deepak-Sir is the best because he teaches very well. He explains things well. (Ananya Nuikey-VA8B).

Few references were made to his questioning style. Many girls said they did not call out to 'running questions' as it seemed pointless and/or gave them a headache, but this was never presented as a criticism of teacher approach.

I do answer, but I don't scream out, I get headache. As it is the whole class makes so much noise. (Sujata Saini-VA9B).

Without intended to be a criticism of Deepak's practice, girls referred regularly to his setting and marking (or otherwise) of homework, suggesting tentatively that they often did not see its purpose.

*Kabhi-jabhi* he gives homework, mostly Maths. He asks us to learn questions and answers by heart. Then he solves the sums on the blackboard and asks us to tally our answers. (Anu Khan-VU17C).

Kamini, usually *very* reserved and monosyllabic, thought I was joking when I asked if he punished those who did not complete their homework.

How can he? He doesn't check, so how would he know? (He does check all our copies once a week though). (Kamini Kalsi-VU18C).

Vidya pupils expressed no opinion on the substance of school topics or the didactic way in which they were taught. They neither criticised rote-learning nor rote reproduction to pass exams. Given no alternative vision of what could happen in schools, they made no connection with teacher-style and the curriculum that either constrained or liberated him/her. All acknowledged, however, that cheating and copying were common, and that families could bribe teachers for passes. Sunanda commented, in a weary, adult manner:

It all happens. Copying and cheating are common, in all exams, and it's possible to pass by giving money. (Sunanda Prasad-VB1B).

Five girls cited personal knowledge of children who had been promoted without the requisite competencies:

Last year there was a girl called Jamila, her father gave money and got her passed. (Aruna Kaithwas-VC5E).

My relative passed like this - not here, in this school, though - the head-teacher helped him. (Anu Khan-VU17C).

The ease of bribery and cheating had classed, gendered dimensions: as introduced in Chapter 7, parents were less willing to pay bribes for daughters than sons<sup>96</sup>. At least half Cohort 3 Standard 5 boys were disaffected with school and failing badly. The fact that they could copy in exams (even if they had to threaten violence to do so, which some did) and pay bribes for passes, made them more indifferent about the inferior schooling

---

<sup>96</sup> This is another area that justifies further research.

available. Truancy was significant, and five Vidya boys reported that they kept the company of much older unemployed boys who drank, smoked, took drugs and spent their time gambling. Some hid on trains and explored other towns and cities. One thirteen year-old took his fathers' bicycle and disappeared for 4 months, leaving his family distraught. These pupils were not naïve children, ignorant of the ways in which school positioned them as 'non-beings'. They saw and assessed everything. As they had no avenues to express their dissatisfaction, it was internalised (to everyone's detriment) and regimes of exclusion and alienation were reproduced.

Ananya Nuikey brought the issue back to the classroom, by explaining how marked classroom hierarchies functioned to exclude some pupils, even from copying. The existence of bribery and cheating thus did not alleviate girls' anxiety about schooling futures, but heightened their sense of insecurity and injustice,

You might think it's easy, but it's not so easy. How can you copy if others don't let you? (Ananya Nuikey-VA8B).

Ananya's classroom social capital was as important in this instance as any that her family may, or may not have been able to summon to obtain underserved promotion, had they desired to do so.

Sagar pupils, including the girls, were more articulate about every aspect of teachers' professional conduct. They commented on teaching approach, questioning style, use of the guide, marking practices and teacher interactions with each other. The most highly rated lessons were those that they found interesting, that engaged them and helped them to understand and gain competence in the issues under question. Teachers were rated according to the commitment evident in their teaching. They felt that one teacher did not put his heart in to the job:

He tells the important things only, he doesn't teach in detail. It's always the same, there's no variety. And he doesn't involve us - sometimes he asks whether we understand or not, and if the intelligent pupils say they do, he goes on. (Kanchan Gourey-SC6C).

They also felt this disinterest was evident from the way he marked work.

He just gives a glance, if he checks properly it'll take lot of time. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A).

Girls were also aware of teacher favouritism and emphasis on a few pupils.

[One] teacher asks only a few pupils. The rest of us sit there like fools. That's why I can't do well in that subject. (Chitra Sahu-SC4B).

As in Vidya, nobody liked it when teachers asked questions to the entire class, a strategy that was seen to be indicative of laziness.

No, I don't shout out with others. Why bother? (Madhuri Sarvan-SC11F).

But no pupils (even those not particularly enthusiastic about Rounak) could find anything negative about her approach.

Madam explains everything in detail. She doesn't worry about time. To know whether everyone understands, she asks questions from the middle of the lesson, first she asks those who are weak, asks who don't understand to raise their hands, and asks small questions. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

No pupils approved of cheating and bribery, admitting that 'it all happened' (a regular phrase) but that teachers who did such things were ultimately only greedy. Teachers who gave small hints and added a few marks, however, were appreciated if it was felt to be in a pupil's best interest: especially if s/he risked being withdrawn from school in the event of failure.

Sagar pupils were highly conscious that teaching style was highly determined by the curricula and syllabi, as well as teacher inclination.

Madam had talked to authorities, but they said she has to teach from the prescribed book. Teachers are just compelled to do what the authorities tell them. (Lajwanti Sahu-SC2A).

They were sophisticated in their recognition that a teacher may have wanted to and been able to teach in a certain way, but have been prevented from so doing by the nature of the curriculum.

The course is so long, that even if they want to explain everything, they cannot. If each point is explained, it can't be finished in a full year. Teachers are bound by the books. .... Well, even if the books are bad, they can teach well if they *want*, but, then again, they get bored teaching the same thing again and again. (Saroj Sahu-SC1A and Standard 8 boy-S).



Throughout the research, adults continually asked me “Why are you talking to the pupils? What can they say? They are children, they can’t answer your queries”. The ‘children’, however, saw and reflected on everything.

### 10.3.6 Tuition

Very few Vidya pupils went to tuition, and saw it as necessary only if their teacher was so inadequate that they learnt nothing at school.

I don’t go now, sir is teaching very well so I don’t need to. (Reena Singh-VC2C).

Unfortunately, however, the standard of tuition was also inadequate, and many poorer families paid a significant sum for very little in return.

Earlier I used to go to my neighbourhood ‘aunt’. But her daughter would switch on the TV and the aunt would tell us to learn something by heart and leave us there. (Bina Phurvi-VU10A).

It appeared that many Sagar girls valued tuition as it was the only place, outside school, where they were free to study without interruption from domestic demands. Bali, busy at her sister’s home, was particularly appreciative.

I don’t get any time at home to study. In the tuition class I can at least study well. (Bali Singh-SI20G).

Madhuri said that going to tuition reduced family tensions, as she was free to study there undisturbed, and then went home where she devoted all her energies to domestic chores.

If I try to study at home someone always asks me to do this or that. It’s very difficult to concentrate. In tuition sir is very strict and he gets us to prepare for exams. (Madhuri Sarvan-SC11F).

Sagar pupils’ detailed responses about the nature of tuition and their reason for valuing it appeared as a radical contradiction of their attitudes about learning in school. Perhaps due to their experience of two different curricula, they evaluated school experiences against a metric of usefulness, enjoyment and relevance, suggesting they thought the dominance of state curricula should be challenged, and that school was an ideal location within which to stage that challenge. Their attitudes to tuition were radically different. They did not expect the tuition tutor to question the content of the state-determined

syllabi. Pupils wanted tuition tutors to get them through the exams, so valued tuition to the extent that it repeatedly set and tested their recollection of facts, answers, formulae and even the workings of entire mathematical problems.

Sir takes so many tests in a week that we have to keep prepared. Tuitionwaley sir is very strict, he doesn't spare even girls (from beatings). (Chitra Sahu-SC4B).

Anamika told me that this constant testing was responsible for girls' more assured, vocal behaviour in tuition sessions, an issue that had been perplexing me for a considerable time.

In the tuitions revision is done 2-3 times, that's why they answer, because they know the answers. (Anamika Khorey-SC10F).

Pupils' different expectations from school and tuition may have also stemmed from the fact that 2 of 4 Sagar teachers challenged the position of the official curricula whilst the tuition tutor accepted it totally and invested all his energies in helping pupils to succeed in the exams as they were. He admitted that he could get access to papers before exams and that he did not stand in principled opposition to using his contacts to gain passes if approached by pupils' parents. (From a more cynical point of view, tuition tutors may have been more supportive of the difficult state curricula, as the difficulty ensured a continued demand for tuition).

One of the most articulate and extrovert boys in the class took great pleasure in informing me about things which girls never mentioned in interviews. He suggested that there were 'relationships' amongst Standard 8 girls and boys, conducted secretly, using intermediaries to deliver notes and arrange meetings. He (claiming to have no interest in such things) had a different perspective on the popularity of tuition. He suggested that it was not 'great' at all, but that its popularity was due to fewer restrictions on girl-boy interactions.

There's one thing about tuition - girls and boys can talk there. That's what I am telling you, boys and girls get to meet each other there - you mightn't learn anything, but you can talk to girls. If anyone asked me - I'd also say his classes are great. (Standard 8 boy).

He may have been right, but I observed no difference in tuition and school interactions. Given family concern, Lalit's dependence on their support for his financial success, and

the high esteem in which families held him, I felt this suggestion might have resulted from a rich imagination and desire to shock and appear sophisticated. Predictably, girls denied any grain of truth in his stories. This may have been because they knew the potentially life-changing consequences of such truth being revealed, or because the rumours were just that. Rounak was confident that girls did not even consider affairs, due to the consequences, and that no Sagar girls had ever had such involvements. Given insights from deeper friendships with girls and young women in town, I sensed the answer may have been somewhere in the middle.

### Section reflections

As girls wanted to remain in school for as long as possible, they were concerned with every aspect of teaching/learning environments. Physical environments, teacher regularity and timing, teacher attitudes and behaviour, curriculum, teaching style and teacher integrity, and tuition were all recognised as important factors shaping academic success and motivation. Systems, curricula and teachers who enabled and encouraged greater success, enjoyment and motivation provided, almost regardless of underlying gender sensitivity, the foundations for empowerment. Where teacher practice was based on commitment to gender equality and framed within a reflective curriculum that could be transacted to address gender issues, girls academic and autonomy achievements were further enhanced.

## 10.4 ‘Virtuous or vicious’ circles: aspirations, practices and outcomes

The final section of this chapter analyses Cohort 3 girls’ performance in the 2003 board exams; presents a synthesis of all the factors that encouraged more empowered aspirations, practices and outcomes, then ends with a discussion of the reasons for the differences in girls’ aspirations and achievements.

### 10.4.1 Academic achievements

I start with an analysis of girls’ performance in the 2003 board exams, illustrating how this data (obtained after completing the first full draft) correlates with previous analysis.

Table 17, drawn from the data in Appendix 18, Tables 3 and 4, presents girls' aggregate marks and class rank. The column to the left refers to Standard 5, that to the right, to Standard 8. Each student's unique reference number, social group, aggregate mark and class rank follow her name. (Standard 5 aggregates are out of 300 and class rank is out of 53. Standard 8 aggregates are out of 600 and class rank is out of 50). The outcome column 'O' indicates performance on the first attempt at the exam, passing outright or taking the supplementary exam. All Vidya girls except Parul Kaithwas passed the supplementary exam. The final two columns pertaining to Sagar girls indicate their performance at supplementary exams and what they did in the following year: either progressing to Standard 9, leaving school or getting married (I do not know if those who were married continued their schooling). Data relating to girls' post-Standard 5 activity was not provided<sup>97</sup>.

**Table 17: Cohort 3 girls' total marks and rank in board exam**

Student	GURN	SG	T	R5	O	#	Student	GURN	SG	T	R8	O	S	*
			300	53						600	50			
Reena Singh	VC2C	G/R	192	1	P	1	Madhuri Sarvan	SC11F	SC	384	1	P		
Sunanda Prasad	VC1B	OBC	174	2	P	2	Kanchan Gourey	SC6C	SC	364	4	P		
Ananya Nuikey	VA8B	SC	156	4	P	3	Anamika Khorey	SC10F	OBC	363	5	P		
Aruna Kaithwas	VC5E	SC	152	5	P	4	Aruna Chhalotrey	SC13I	OBC	357	6	P		
Rewa Prasad	VU13B	OBC	148	6	P	5	Chitra Sahu	SC4B	OBC	356	7	P		
Ananya Kaithwas	VA7A	SC	142	9	P	6	Meena Sahu	SC14I	OBC	354	8	P		
Priya Gehlot	VC2E	SC	138	10	P	7	Lajwanti Sahu	SC2A	OBC	351	10	P		
Sujata Saini	VA9B	OBC	136	12	P	8	Rakhi Khorey	SC15I	OBC	351	11	P		
Shobha Gehlot	VC3C	SC	126	14	P	9	Saroj Sahu	SC1A	OBC	328	14	P		
Sudha Kaithwas	VU21D	SC	118	18	S	10	Pratima Singh	SC5C	G	313	19	S	F	9
Parul Kaithwas	VU15C	SC	112	20	SF	11	Bali Singh	SI20G	G	308	21	P		
Kamini Kalsi	VU18C	OBC	111	21	S	12	Lekha Sutar	SC9E	OBC	307	22	S	F	9
Rani Kaithwas	VU20D	SC	109	22	S	13	Usha Chhalotrey	SC8D	OBC	304	25	P		
Bina Phurvi	VU10A	ST	93	25	S	14	Sharmila Khorey	SC12I	OBC	303	26	S	F	L
Kanchan Kaithwas	VU19D	SC	89	26	S	15	Leela Rehlot	SI17A	SC	285	30	S	P	L
Anu Khan	VU17C	OBC	82	30	S	16	Alka Khorey	SC7D	OBC	262	34	S	P	9
Damini Gehlot	VU12A	SC	69	36	S	17	Lajwanti Chaudri	SU16A	SC	248	38	S	F	M
Damini Chandel	VU22D	G	68	37	S	18	Jagruti Sahu	SC3A	OBC	226	43	S	F	M
Aradhna Uikey	VU16C	ST	67	38	S	19	Damini Sutar	SI18A	OBC	209	44	S	F	M
Sujata Khorey	VA6A	OBC	55	45	S	20	Kanchan Banwar	SI19C	OBC	193	45	S	F	M
Rashmi Dohar	VU14C	SC	54	47	S	21								
Suman Gehlot	VU11A	SC	28	50	F	22								

Focusing first on Standard 5 ranking<sup>98</sup>, eight of the nine girls from 'confident' or 'aspirational' families (indicated by a C or A in the second letter of the GURN) all

<sup>97</sup> This data is useful and I would make a point of collecting it if I were to conduct similar research again.

<sup>98</sup> It is helpful to use side B of the bookmark when exploring this data.

passed on the first attempt, were amongst the nine highest achieving girls and fourteen highest achieving pupils. Eleven of the twelve girls from families whose confidence for their daughters' continued schooling had been 'undermined' all failed on their first attempt and were distributed from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 50<sup>th</sup> place in the overall class rank.

Parul, although she took 20<sup>th</sup> rank overall, failed her English paper by 9%, and either failed or did not attend the supplementary exam. The latter seemed likely, as this was her third *year* (possibly ninth attempt) of sitting this exam and her family were losing patience. Rewa Prasad and Sujata Khorey were the other Standard 5 girls whose performance was notable. Rewa, although she and her family were doubtful about her continued schooling, scored just under 50% at the first attempt and came sixth in the class. I was aware of her ability, but surprised by this result as she had not only ceased attending school, but also told me that she would not even sit the exam. I am glad she did and hope she will continue her schooling. Sujata Khorey's academic performance was not surprising, as she had always been weak: what was more surprising was her mother's determined optimism. As she passed, I suspect her schooling might have continued. The only girl in Standard 5 to fail outright was Suman Gehlot, sister to the boy who ran away, who was so withdrawn that, according to her mother, she hardly spoke even at home.

Turning to the Standard 8 ranking, ten of the fourteen girls from 'confident' families passed at first attempt, and thirteen of these girls were amongst the fourteen highest achieving girls and twenty-six highest achieving pupils. Four of the five girls from families with 'undermined' or 'eroded' aspirations failed on their first attempt, three failed at supplementary, whilst one passed but her schooling was terminated.

The performance of three girls, Alka, Jagruti and Bali, was notable. Alka was from a family who presented themselves as 'confident' about her future schooling, yet she took thirty-fourth rank in the class, after two girls (Bali and Leela) from families 'indifferent' about their daughters/wards' further schooling. There was no qualitative incongruity with this result, however, as her academic performance had been consistently weak. The fact that she passed supplementary and progressed to Standard 9 is indicative of the extent of family support, and perhaps also resources. Jagruti was also from a confident family and had consistently weak academic performance, but her family were resource-

poor and facing particularly challenging times. In addition to this, Jagruti must have known about her imminent marriage (although her family chose not to share this information with me). The four girls at the bottom of the ranking, all of whom took supplementary and failed, were married in the year following their board exams. It would be interesting to know the role that their forthcoming marriages played in this outcome.

Bali, although despondent during fieldwork and desperate to leave her sister's home, and return to live with her widower father, even though this meant the end to her schooling, did well in the exams. She passed at the first attempt, took twenty-first position (out of fifty) with higher marks than nine other girls. This performance was not surprising in that it reflected that of the fieldwork, but I do not know what she did in the following year.

It is interesting to note the ways in which girls from different social groups are distributed different class' ranking. The high-achieving Standard 5 Dalit pupils were not *necessarily* from financially 'robust' families (family income group is represented by the last letter of the GURN), whilst the Standard 8 Dalit girls, who took first and fourth position overall, were from more affluent families.

#### 10.4.2 Synthesis of aspirations, practices and outcomes

This sub-section presents a synthesis of the complex interplay of aspirations, practices and outcomes.

Numerous daily experiences encouraged girls' determination to pursue their aspirations: academic success was foundational, but it was, in itself, related to a complex intersection of other factors. The first group were related to family and community. Family support (more correlated with girls' success than any other factor) was intricately related to girls' academic success, and influenced by community support, social pressure and the extent to which daughters' appeared 'trustworthy'. Girls' success was enhanced by time away from domestic work to study, significantly so by the existence of safe and reputable tuition that provided such a space, constant drilling to pass exams and the opportunity to take academic problems to a responsive teacher.

Girls' determination was encouraged by genuine opportunities to continue post-elementary schooling in environments that satisfied family criteria, by opportunities for public-sector employment in environments recognised as non-threatening for women, and by girls' and family knowledge of these opportunities and of girls/young women working in them without threat. Determination was supported by the existence of a peer group of school-going community girls, for solidarity, encouragement and help with schoolwork, and by the existence of older girls progressing unproblematically through higher levels of education.

Numerous school factors contributed to the encouragement of aspirations and their achievement. The first requirement was that schools were safe places where physical and reputational safety was assured, enhanced by respectful teachers who taught with concern and engagement. Interesting, engaging and relevant syllabi, wherein achievement depended on understanding and application (with no place for cheating or bribery) helped facilitate a 'virtuous circle' of enjoyment, determination, success and parental support. Genuine success was fundamental, as families were reluctant to bribe for daughters, and unearned promotion did not enhance girls' self-esteem or confidence.

Given the many gendered challenges of balancing home and school messages and demands, challenges that magnified with adolescence, girls benefited when teachers' professional engagement was founded on a reflected gender position, enabling school-based engagement with the complex gender challenges of daily life. This foundation was enhanced by access to safe, confidential and gender sensitive counselling. More empowered aspirations and identities were encouraged by egalitarian and transparent school staff gender regimes that challenged the classed, gendered status quo.

The greatest increases in aspiration, determination and achievement were enabled when the above factors were combined with a curricula approach that enabled gender-sensitive engagement and practice, founded in the principles of the capability approach and full gender democracy. As gender equality was not rigorously centralised in Eklavya's curriculum, materials and teacher-training, gendered curriculum negotiation and transaction was left to individual teachers. Had the materials been more 'pro-

actively' gender-informed, there may have been greater transformatory impact in all classes, even those of Rounak.

### 10.4.3 Reasons for girls' different aspirations and achievements

This final sub-section synthesises the main reasons for girls' different aspirations and achievements.

Family aspirations and practices were one of the most foundational influences on girls' aspirations and practices. The two fundamental requirements (which both increased in significance with progression up the educational 'ladder' and girls' entry into adolescence) for positive family aspirations and practices were minimum 'thresholds' of both family resources and school 'quality'.

The first factor contributing to girls' different aspirations and achievements was family per-capita resources. If per-capita resources exceeded a minimum threshold, the second factor shaping different aspirations and practices was school quality. Family criteria were exceeded by Deepak's early practice, but not met by the compromised environment of Phase 3. Even though more rigorously enforced at the middle stage, family criteria were broadly satisfied by learning environments at Sagar, over all phases.

Within these parameters, different family aspirations and practices were again influenced by family finances. As a broad trend, across all types of enrolment (or lack of it), families' gendered educational investments often reflected their socio-economic positions: the greater a families resources, the further they educated their children, tending to educate sons further than daughters. Numerous other factors, however, complicated this pattern: financial considerations were only one of many influences on aspiration and practice.

Family and home features influenced the construction of different aspirations and practices: the environment in which the family lived, domestic arrangements, family cultural and social capitals (particularly education and experience of the formal sector) and relationships between family members. Family size, the number of siblings, the balance of boys and girls and girls' position within the sibling order affected aspirations and practices for different children, whilst girls' performance was affected by their own,



and their families' health and nutrition, sanitation facilities and attitudes and practices related to menstruation.

On a more individual level, family and girl's different aspirations, practices and outcomes were shaped by girl's ability to 'make sense' of school learning, enjoy it and achieve academically (and by association schools' success at responding to and developing each girl's particular needs). School-based differences were accentuated by different access to safe and effective tuition, and by differences in the time that girls were able to have away from domestic work to rest, study and/or meet with friends (even if this time was only during tuition).

Differential family commitment was informed by girls' 'performance' to family criteria, their success in modelling personal determination, 'continued autonomy' and enthusiastic acceptance of family values. Dissatisfaction with gendered family regimes and practices was considerable, however, but received minimal or no gender-sensitive strategic educational counselling. Many girls, especially as they progressed through adolescence, battled to disguise resentment of family hierarchies (gendered and otherwise) and intimate experience of gendered injustice.

Finally, Sagar pupils had an advantage over many, in that they had one gender sensitive, progressive and reflective female teacher with whom they could discuss confidential issues and concerns. Some pupils' academic and autonomy achievements might, however, have been undermined by the fact that there was only one such teacher, one, who, for some reason, they felt they could not approach.

### Section reflections

Far from being positive or neutral, inadequate schooling had a negative impact on aspirations for greater participation and autonomy. By undermining success and reinforcing the impression that failure was due to personal inadequacies, such experiences denied girls (particularly those least family support, academic competency or interest in school and classroom processes) the sense that 'they could do it'. On the other hand, when adequate schooling enabled girls to become 'realistically' aspirational, they often manipulated or created environments to gain greater autonomy. This in turn

created the virtuous circle of homes, schools and girls proving that realistic aspiration was itself an autonomy gain.

Girls, the 'target' of government gender reform policies, expected to be the instruments of social change, were, along with teachers ascribing to gender equality objectives, the most challenged and the most in need of support and guidance. The fact that they were both the least supported encapsulates another example of gendered inequality.

## **10.5 Conclusions and connections**

The Cohort 3 focus-class girls were undoubtedly the most aspirational of the sample. They may have been too inexperienced to recognise the idealism of their aspirations, but these aspirations accorded with state gender equality agendas. They recognised instrumental, positional and intrinsic returns to their schooling, and, although many acknowledged that it would not be possible, 39 of the 42 wanted to complete the full 12 years of formal schooling. The girls were not only the most aspirational, however, they were also the most challenged. It was primarily their identities that were targeted for transformation, their attitudes and aspirations that were framed as enabling development and progress. Yet the structures to support and enable such transformations were not in place. Girls, with more domestic demands and greater fatigue, more restrictions on their movements, play, association, attitudes and opinions, with less family enthusiasm, support and encouragement for their studies, and with greater requirements to demonstrate success and determination, had to 'carry' the state agendas.

## Chapter 11 Conclusions

Pursuing this research has been a life-changing experience, not least because of the warmth of the support received from the communities in which the fieldwork was based. The conclusions must inevitably reflect the complexities underlying the challenges faced in the pursuit of societal and educational gender equality. I review the study and findings, relate the findings to the theoretical and policy frameworks and reflect on the research process and areas for further research.

### 11.1 Reflections on the thesis and findings

The study is set in a State where development policy is framed by the principles of the capability approach, and explores the factors conducive to both girls' academic success and empowering transformations in gender identities and relations.

The thesis begins by locating the priorities and agendas of the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh within the broad human development paradigm of the UNDP, encapsulated in the eight MDGs adopted by all UN member states in 2000. It progresses to a review of Sen's capability approach and an evaluation of policy and programmes of the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh. It then outlines the social embodiment paradigm as articulated by Robert Connell, and maps gender representation across the four structures of power, production, emotional and symbolic relationships.

Indian and state policy and programme initiatives, inspired by the human development paradigm and Sen's approach, suggest considerable commitment to the establishment and enhancement of the 'instrumental freedoms' constitutive of and conducive to 'development conceptualised as freedom'. Policy oversights and challenges in implementation have, however, frustrated substantive progress towards state, national and international goals. The literature illustrates the lack of political commitment to the provision of quality elementary schooling, leading to inadequacy in investment,

provision and professional and institutional regimes. Indian gender literature illustrates entrenched gender imbalances, indicative of highly patriarchal gender orders and regimes. Literature on schooling reflects replication of these patterns (despite ongoing educational reform) within schooling regimes and the distributional, professional, institutional and knowledge regimes associated with formal education. By 2000, adequate foundations for the possibility of progress towards any equality, including gender equality, had not been laid. Schooling was not meeting its equity or gender equity objectives.

The investigation focuses on girls in two elementary school classes in provincial Madhya Pradesh. It explores the educational aspirations and practices of girls, their families and teachers, and the influences shaping these aspirations and practices. It investigates the educational/autonomy achievements enabled by the intersection of these aspirations and practices and examines the reasons for girls' different aspirations and achievements.

The study illustrates that all participants' educational aspirations exceeded those portrayed in the literature, and that girls were the most aspirational. All Cohort 3 girls wanted to 'be educated' and most wanted to continue their education until Standard 12, although many recognised that they would not be able to fulfil these aspirations. All recognised many returns, intrinsic, positional and instrumental, from an 'adequate' education, yet some saw no returns to the education available to them. Cohort 3 girls' families were more realistic and circumspect in their aspirations. Families of Standard 5 girls aspired to a minimum of eight years of schooling, whilst most Standard 8 families aspired to post-elementary schooling; to nine, ten or twelve years, and a few even to graduation. All valued schooling for its instrumental and positional returns and many, in stressing that they allowed their daughters to attend school as a response to her strong desires, acknowledged its intrinsic value. Teachers' educational aspirations (in terms of the duration of schooling) were surprisingly non-negotiable and non-gendered. Apart from Rounak, teachers expressed the belief that all Indian children should complete the school cycle of 12 years. Many felt that those who wanted to should also be able to complete graduation. Teachers' reasons' for valuing schooling focussed principally on positional and intrinsic returns, then instrumental ones.

The families of Cohort 3 girls had persisted in educating their daughters for a minimum of five years, and a maximum of nine years (in the cases of Standard 8 girls who had repeated a year). Whilst the domestic responsibilities of most younger girls were contained, very few had support for their studies and only five attended tuition. Older girls often had considerable domestic responsibilities, but nearly every Standard 8 family invested in four hours of tuition daily, giving their daughters time away from domestic work and the opportunity to study undisturbed. The Cohort 3 girls had also persisted in their schooling for between five and nine years. Standard 5 girls spent minimal time studying outside school: doing so only if they found academic work easy and enjoyable or if they went to tuition where homework was set and marked. All but three Standard 8 girls attended tuition on a daily basis and had to spend time memorising homework between sessions. The teaching and learning environments created by eighteen teachers failed to satisfy families' criteria for their daughters' continued schooling. The environments in the classes of four teachers and both tutors satisfied family criteria over all phases, whilst that in Deepak's class exceeded family criteria in the first two phases, but was severely compromised in the final phase.

The study identifies aspiration as one of the most important requirements for the possibility of achievement and change. It took its starting point from the capability approach in assuming that the 'existence' of the five 'instrumental freedoms' is a non-negotiable baseline, providing a development 'framework' within which it is legitimate for individuals to aspire to change. Whilst these instrumental freedoms are enshrined in Madhya Pradesh policy rhetoric and programme documentation, it is their 'quality', their four foundational regimes that shapes participants' gendered educational aspirations and practices.

Foundationally, all aspirations and practices were shaped by distributional regimes, significantly by girls' socio-economic positioning. Girls' families enjoyed less economic security, less political representation, inadequate access to inadequate social arrangements for their health, education and protective/social security, and were highly vulnerable to mal-practice arising from the absence of effective transparency guarantees and freedom of information. Whilst teachers appear, on a superficial level, privileged and protected by these 'transparency' and 'information' inadequacies, it is a negative protection that undermines the performance of those who wish to work conscientiously

or for the type of change encapsulated in policy visions: by association, therefore, entire school environments.

Related specifically to education, the unjust regimes of distribution associated with the 'social arrangements ... for education' had a powerful influence on families and girls' aspirations and practice. Family support was enhanced when daughters succeeded academically and demonstrated a desire and determination to study, but also when physical and reputational safety was assured, when daughters demonstrated themselves trustworthy and where schooling did not lead them to resist fundamental family values. If school was fundamentally safe, most girls monitored their own behaviour (including the articulation of independent opinions) to ensure that parents were satisfied about their reputational safety and adherence to family values. Academic success and modelling of desire/determination to study were more challenging, however, so girls were interested in all factors that enabled success, enjoyment and determination.

Teachers were framed by government policy as the 'mechanisms' through which changes in pupils' gender identities and in gender relations were to be affected: they were, with girls<sup>99</sup>, central to the achievement of government objectives. Yet teachers' aspirations and practices were shaped by existing professional and institutional regimes, which, rather than encouraging autonomy, reflection and creativity, framed officials and teachers as non-agentic implementers of state policy. The inadequacy of norms, procedures, and transparency and disciplinary mechanisms privileged social capital over merit: facilitating the reproduction of the status quo and undermining initiative and effort. Strict reporting structures encouraged hierarchical relationships between officials, teacher trainers, teachers and families, with all groups displacing responsibility onto others. Officials and teachers were rewarded for the return of positive statistical data, diverting attention from issues of quality, pedagogy and achievement. Although this data was popularly regarded as invalid, there were no mechanisms or incentives to initiate debate on these issues. As there were no rewards for reflection, questioning or innovation, the capabilities of teachers, trainers or officials to develop such approaches in others were underdeveloped.

---

<sup>99</sup> Boys were important, but not *as* critically so in this context.

In order for girls to pursue the types of gender relations and identities that good school experiences suggested were possible, the gender identities of both girls and boys had to change, and for both, this change was better enabled by academic success and persistence through school. If the quality of schooling was improved to enable girls' success (and enhance their confidence and aspirations) boys automatically benefited, and this (almost regardless of boys' gender identities) created a 'virtuous circle' with positive impacts on all pupils' persistence and achievement. Rises in boys' average achievement had three obvious impacts for girls: (a) boys' school behaviour improved, so parents were more willing to send daughters to study alongside them; (b) as sons achieved family objectives, and parents saw returns to schooling, they were more inclined to consider education for daughters; and (c) the demand for educated brides increased. There was another, much less obvious impact: higher achieving Standard 8 boys and girls interacted maturely, were able to conduct group work collaboratively, share monitors' tasks and duties, and were thus enabled to appreciate and respect each other as 'humans' and friends. This enhanced girls' competence and confidence and the development of more egalitarian and respectful interactions, changing gendered perceptions and commonsense assumptions.

For the majority of pupils, schooling at Vidya did not provide the foundations for increased autonomy, confidence or public-sphere participation (even in the classes of Anu or Mohini, or even Deepak in Phase 3) as so many were 'pushed out' before progressing to middle school. (The sad reality was, however, that even these three classes often provided better foundations than those made possible in many government primary schools). Schooling at Sagar, especially when teachers were able to act as reflective professionals and follow syllabi and teaching approaches that were widely recognised as better suited to pupils' needs and interests, did help establish the foundations for increased autonomy, although this was for pupils who had already exceeded the (1998/99) school careers of 69% of girls and 55% of boys in the state (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:22).

This underlines that the first year of government schooling has the highest proportion of such pupils, and although this proportion reduces with progression through the schooling system, many pupils who transfer to middle school find continued academic

success highly taxing. Regardless of their schooling histories, these pupils are the most in need of support, but the least likely to receive it.

Despite this pessimistic scenario, positive school experiences did encourage pupils to question and create knowledge, evidenced most powerfully by the very different generational attitudes and practices in relation to caste and friendships between girls and boys, and the positive correlations between academic success and the articulation of more independent and egalitarian attitudes.

Beyond this correlation, when following state syllabi and procedures, school environments did little to encourage pupils to recognise the social construction of knowledge. The epistemological foundation of the textbooks represented knowledge as 'information', projecting it as finite and of a nature divorced from pupils' experiences, encouraging the assumption that success and status depended on memorisation and replication. This was reinforced by an examination system that rewarded replication, in which social and financial capital could play as significant a role as competency, and the daily dominance of tuition, a strict, disciplined environment designed to drill replication. Even if there had been time left to reflect, question and think independently, pupils' capabilities for such behaviour were neglected.

The Eklavya Science and Social Science curricula, with their investigatory methodology, emphasis on reflection and 'open-book' exams testing ability to think and apply knowledge, did provide an environment that developed pupils' capabilities for critical thinking. Sagar pupils' often repeated preference for 'thinking and then writing' rather than 'just writing' was indicative of their perception that reflection and production were superior to reproduction. The government's closing of the programme, however, especially in the face of dedicated pupil resistance, may have encouraged them to doubt the validity of independent thinking and the purpose of democratic action.

Within the broad framework of distributional, professional and knowledge regimes, all aspirations and practices were powerfully informed by gender regimes. In all regimes explored within the case study, the patriarchal dividend was considerable and subordinate female identities predominated across socio-economic groups and ages. There were nuanced differences, especially between labouring groups and the rest of



society, as women and girls from these families had to take up often degrading and exploitative public-sphere employment. Women and girls from higher socio-economic groups enjoyed greater educational investment, often benefited from the domestic labour of poorer women and girls, freeing them for greater academic achievement and representation in professional public-sector employment. Girls and women from more affluent families were more 'protected' the moral ideals of female 'purity' and 'virtue' crossed all groups, and were regularly used as a justification for many gendered practices and exclusions. Pupils' families tended to model passive/submissive female identities, incorporating acceptance of hierarchical gender relationships wherein the authority of in-laws and husbands was grudgingly accepted as a 'fact of life'.

All school gender regimes provided complex messages. Although teachers were of very different socio-economic/cultural backgrounds to pupils, the presence of female teachers in both schools encouraged pupils to recognise that women could enter professional employment. Beyond this baseline, staff gender identities and regimes in Vidya presented little challenge to assumptions central to the dominant gender order. Older men determined 'the rules' and younger men and women complied. The environment in Sagar was more positive, modelling different identities and relations. Men and women worked collaboratively and Rounak was perceived as the most committed teacher and seen to challenge unprofessional or gendered behaviour. Pupils became familiar with her life, and were thereby exposed to a very different female identity. Schools, when functioning properly, modelled female identities that were based on more egalitarian gender practices and relationships than those of girls' homes.

Given the widespread lack of support for challenges to the gendered status quo, however, not only were those who desired change undermined, but conscientious teachers who pursued it were also constrained, ridiculed and sometimes victimised within and outside the profession. Those few teachers who were pursuing government gender equality agendas, without additional incentives, were left unsupported and even vulnerable by the government.

The study started with the following four questions:

1. What are the gendered educational aspirations and practices of girls, their families and teachers?

2. What informs these gendered aspirations and practices?
3. What educational and autonomy achievements are enabled by the intersection of these aspirations and practices?
4. What shapes girls' different aspirations and achievements?

To summarise the thesis' response, societal, school, family and community processes intersected in deep and complex ways to inform the construction of girls' gender identities. Family concerns influenced girls' aspirations, their socio-economic positions limited opportunities for rewarding public-sphere participation, school quality often undermined family commitment and classroom practice regularly discouraged girls' persistence. Given safe and functioning schools wherein girls' physical, sexual and reputational safety was assured and where genuine learning took place, however, girls' aspirations were rendered realistic, family commitment was encouraged and girls manipulated opportunities for greater autonomy. In these cases, girls and family aspirations often exceeded those of government. This 'virtuous circle' was significantly enhanced by one teacher's gender-sensitive practice.

## 11.2 Reflections on the theoretical and policy frameworks

The development priorities of the Madhya Pradesh government, inspired by the capability approach, and framed within global development orthodoxy and the MDGs, provided the framework for this study. In particular, in the third MDG, the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women was central.

The exploration underlines the fact that there are neither 'quick fix' nor single-sector solutions to social change, gender equality and women's empowerment. As Sen consistently argues, the foundations for human freedom lie in the 'instrumental' economic, political, social, transparency and informational 'instrumental freedoms', and require crosscutting strategic approaches. Madhya Pradesh has been pursuing the establishment of these freedoms for the past decade, but it is the content and quality that are of vital importance if all pupils from the target groups (boys and girls) are to be encouraged to enrol in school, achieve and persist until they have developed the capabilities and confidence for enhanced public-sphere participation.

The effectiveness of these crosscutting instrumental freedoms should improve incrementally, especially if attention is focussed on ensuring that the four foundational

regimes reflect the principles and priorities of the capability approach. The prospects for education to be an effective mechanism contributing to these change processes would be enhanced if the same attention is directed to similar foundational regimes within 'the social arrangements for education'.

Schooling will better enable transformation in gender identities and relationships if, as a baseline, it enables success and progression. Significant public-sphere participation, and the confidence for it, is enabled by genuine enhancement of competencies (rather than the proliferation of undeserved qualifications) for all pupils, and by gender parity in achievement at all levels of education, not just eight years of schooling (as enshrined in the target for the third MDG, UN General Assembly, 2001). For this to happen, attention needs to be directed at improving the quality of government schooling. Within existing state priorities, the most important foundation for the possibility of enhanced female autonomy and public-sphere participation are functioning, transparent and effective schools, staffed by teachers working in environments that encourage reflection, creativity and professionalism.

Professional and institutional regimes impact powerfully on the quality of schooling. The government's pursuit of a development paradigm framed around the enhancement of informed social choice is best enabled by encouragement of professional and institutional regimes founded on the same principles. Decentralisation of educational management and the creation of village and school education committees are steps in the right direction, but to increase the rate of progress requires attention to the regimes and functioning of these institutions.

Some qualitative improvements should result from increased attention to the distributional, professional/institutional and gender regimes of schooling, even if this attention is relatively gender-blind. With such an approach, however, the qualitative gains, even for boys, will be bounded. They would be more significant if serious attention is paid to the specific gendered challenges faced by girls, and if their persistence and achievement is explicitly encouraged.

Following Connell's framework, the gender order of society and the gender regimes of pupils' lives model subordinate female identities scored by markers of class, caste and

location. Government is attempting to address gendered imbalances in power, production, emotional and symbolic relationships but social and gender transformations are long-term processes, developing over generations, with strongly delineated spaces for agency and progress within each generation and context. The 'size' of these generational and context-dependent 'spaces for agency' can be increased by informed, pro-active, gender-sensitive government action.

In an extension of Connell's framework, schooling should increase the rate of change in gendered identities and relationships if schools encourage questioning of the status quo and model empowered gender identities and interactions. This is better enabled if schooling is based on an epistemology that encourages and rewards reflection rather than replication. This has a two-fold impact: in itself, it facilitates a virtuous circle of academic success, encouraging persistence and greater success, for all pupils, raising standards, expectations and commitment to schooling. Moreover, it encourages questioning of the status quo, increasing belief in the possibility of different futures, again, for all pupils. Within frameworks still highly dominated by marriage considerations, girls' opportunities for more schooling and enhanced public-sphere participation will increase in relation to societal arrangements for greater gender equality and the educational achievements and public-sphere participation of their husbands.

In addition to the foundational knowledge regimes of schooling, the enhancement of girls and boys' success and empowered aspirations demands attention to the gender regimes associated with all elements of educational provision. Given the highly gendered regimes of girls' lives, schools need to provide visions of alternative futures. The use of schooling as a mechanism to enable empowering identity transformations is better enabled when environments, attitudes, materials and interactions embody commitment to both the legitimacy and the critical centrality of class, caste and gender equality. The gender regimes of schools, their enactment by teachers and their representation in curricula, textbooks and materials need to reflect, rather than contradict, transformatory policy visions. Again, attention to gender regimes has many impacts: the gender sensitivity (inherent in such approaches) enables professional women to model empowered identities; the attention to girls' gendered challenges encourages girls' achievement and persistence; the possibility of alternatives futures

becomes more realistic, and all pupils' success is enhanced, contributing to virtuous circles of increased success, aspiration and demand.

Whilst education departments cannot legislate about the gender regimes of society, communities or families, they can be explicit in communicating their commitment to the criticality of empowered female identities and actively foster interventions, NGO and community initiatives to raise awareness and support girls and women in their quest for education and greater participation. To return to Naila Kabeer's observation, with which I concluded the literature review, the 'promise' of social transformation lies in the 'variety of interventions' and 'the myriad changes which they unleash' (Kabeer, 1999a:46). State support for these interventions will enhance the rate and scope of such 'myriad changes'.

The greatest challenge facing educational transformation agenda is, however, not only to respond to the needs of girls, but to those of all pupils who find academic success highly challenging. Without attention to these pupils throughout the schooling system, especially during the first five years of government schooling, progress towards state universalisation, equity and equality goals will be constrained.

In summary, there are no simple, single sector approaches to social transformation and gender equality. Such transformation requires broad and crosscutting reform, aimed at enhancing the existence and substance of political, economic, social, transparency and informational 'instrumental freedoms', and ensuring that their foundational distributional, professional/institutional, knowledge and gender regimes reflect the principles and priorities of the capability approach. In both broad and specifically educational terms, if arrangements are enhanced to enable the success of the most challenged, boys as well as girls, men as well as women, these enhancements will increase overall quality and benefit everyone.

Given the complex negotiations of, and limited progress towards state gender equality agendas, change in gender aspirations and identities will be very gradual if commonsense assumptions about what it means to be a woman or man is only informed by 'the way things appear' in society. If schooling is to encourage empowering change in gender identities and relations, school must proactively model the legitimacy of both change

and equality, in all forms, not just that between women and men: schools need to champion transformatory and egalitarian policy visions. In addition to school-focussed interventions, governments can actively foster local initiatives that challenge the gendered status quo and support girls and women in their quest for greater education and enhanced public-sphere participation.

The framework provided by the capability approach for assessment of the aims, content, process, relationships and outcomes of education was encapsulated in India's 1986/1992 National Policy on Education (Government of India, 1992a:10, Paragraph 4.2) and the paradigm, framework and guidelines are as relevant today as they were in 1986/1992. The capability approach, the human development paradigm, the third MDG, the 1986 NPE and the equality agendas of the Madhya Pradesh government need to be understood, pursued and evaluated in their broadest crosscutting complexity. The mainstreaming of insights about faster progress towards national and international goals demands political will, not only for broad reform and investment, but also for confidence and integrity to stand by state visions, to learn from democratic and gender initiatives and experiences and to invest in enhancing understanding, at every level, of the foundations of, and rationale for, equitable and democratic reform.

### 11.3 Reflections on the study and areas for further research

This study was inspired by practical concerns: I wanted to know how the educational persistence and overall achievement of Indian girls could be improved, and what needed to happen if education were to contribute to greater gender equality. It was framed by the capability approach and conducted in Madhya Pradesh to enable school-family-community focus in a setting where policy and programmes were grounded in the 'instrumental freedoms' conducive to and constitutive of 'development conceptualised as freedom'. It was specifically set in Nakuur to include some teachers whose professional development and curricula experiences reflected the principles of the capability approach. At the outset, the area for investigation was largely empirically uncharted in accessible literature. My experiential knowledge of Indian provincial realities and my language skills were limited, and my professional trajectory was that of a practitioner, not an academic. All these factors contributed to the study starting with a broad gaze, with an initial emphasis on ethnographic exploration, which became increasingly defined as the study progressed.

One consequence of this broad gaze is that some points in the thesis are not as richly substantiated as they would have been had it been more focussed. The large number of teachers, pupils and families involved led to grouping them for representational purposes, and this grouping was inevitably a simplification of highly complex issues, slightly at odds with the rich, qualitative nature of the data. A further consequence arising from the intersection of these two issues is that I was unable to fully exploit the depth and scope of all interviews, especially teacher interviews. I was surprised by girls' interest in public-sphere participation and desire for greater autonomy; by families' explicit denunciation of the system, their concern with quality and willingness to embrace change, and by teachers' considerable reflection on their deprofessionalised position and their concern with the positional returns to education.

I have not fully represented the complexities of teachers' positions, their depth of reflection, underlying dissatisfaction and desire for 'things to be different' or the extent to which they were continually undermined and demotivated by the system. I recognise that I would feel misrepresented if, as a teacher, I were described as 'disengaged' or 'constrained', even if all factors leading to my 'disengagement', or 'constrained engagement' with teaching and learning processes had been considered. Just as interviews were always individuals' self-representations, however, these categories were my heuristic representations of analysis, and I apologise for any inadequacies.

A key feature of this research is that I, foreigner with a 'newcomer's' grasp of all the uniquely Indian contextualising features, came with an outsider's perspective to explore instrumental freedoms and their foundational regimes. Recognising this position, the desire to avoid simplification, 'othering' or imposition was embedded within all research processes, particularly the wide consultations and deep debates throughout the study, especially those with Rounak and my field assistant. Nevertheless, my gaze, perhaps especially my gender gaze, will always be influenced by my life trajectory and experiences.

In direct application of Sen's thesis on 'the legitimacy and need for the people affected to participate in deciding what they want and what they have reason to accept (Sen, 2000:32), those most affected by these issues should conduct investigations and research, with investment into their opportunities and capabilities to do so in

empowering environments. This includes local officials, teachers, teacher-trainers, activists, families and even pupils, as well as academics and researchers. Their different trajectories and experience will contribute more nuanced perspectives, highlight deeper complexities and possibly illustrate greater negotiation of the status quo: of dominant distributional, professional/institutional, knowledge and gender regimes.

Despite these caveats, I designed and pursued an investigation that I felt was necessary, and which I hoped would contribute to the field. The study may not appeal to any audience in its entirety, but different elements will be useful for different constituencies. In addition to wide dissemination, I intend to share the results with participants and all who have supported its development, so I will be able to gauge its perceived contribution from any feedback offered.

It is apparent that there are critical gaps in the literature describing the interactions between instrumental freedoms, foundational regimes and progress towards policy goals. This merits a desk study exploring what is written about the foundational regimes of all the instrumental freedoms, with particular focus on protective security, transparency guarantees and freedom of information. Exploration of how the foundational regimes and their intersections impact on the educational and life-style aspirations, practices and outcomes of provincial girls, their families, government teachers and local officials would identify important areas for further empirical research.

There is a clear need for deeper study into the foundational regimes of the ‘social arrangements for education’. This calls for an examination of their intersections, the impacts on all associated with education and the implications of these processes and outcomes for progress towards state, national and international goals. Table 18 (overleaf) presents some of the areas highlighted during the study as meriting further research.



**Table 18: Areas for further research**

<p><b>All involved in schooling</b></p> <p>The impact of distributional, professional/institutional, knowledge and gender regimes and implications for progress towards state and national goals.</p> <p><b>Teachers</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Teacher professionalism, reflectivity, training and autonomy. (To include the struggles of conscientious teachers committed to egalitarian change).</li> <li>2 Teachers' (differentiated or otherwise) classroom activity and reactions to individual learning needs.</li> <li>3 Teachers' experiences of discrimination and marginalisation, particularly related to the intersections of class, caste/ethnicity and gender.</li> </ol> <p><b>Pupils and schooling</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 How schools can respond to the high proportions of pupils who find academic success challenging.</li> <li>2 The possibly gendered regimes and impacts of cheating and bribery.</li> <li>3 The cause, extent and consequences of boys' nonchalance, alienation and failure.</li> <li>4 The profile of girls, boys and their families at regular intervals through the school system; incorporating all types of educational provision.</li> <li>5 All aspects of tuition, particularly its role in enabling success and progression.</li> <li>6 The application of Connell's framework to a deeper exploration of the representation and enactment of gendered power, production, emotional and symbolic relationships in environment, attitudes, curriculum, materials, pedagogy and interactions.</li> <li>7 The impact of the epistemology of schooling on willingness to embrace change.</li> <li>8 The impact of explicitly gender-sensitised curricula on Indian pupils' gender identities and relations.</li> </ol> <p><b>Families</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 What mothers and fathers want from schooling, how different priorities are negotiated, what degree of independence they would accept and what would make them withdraw their daughters.</li> <li>2 The links between levels of husband/extended family schooling and domestic violence.</li> <li>3 The existence of genuine employment opportunities, girls and families' awareness of these opportunities and how this affects aspirations and investments.</li> </ol> <p><b>Community and adult education initiatives</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 The activities, impacts and relations with the state of non-government organisations that uphold the principles of capability approach and/or gender equality.</li> <li>2 The impact of women's empowerment initiatives on family demand for the provision and quality of girl's schooling.</li> <li>3 How the community, VECs and PTAs can be brought in to school to enhance teaching/learning and school processes.</li> </ol> <p><b>Research</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 The challenges (gendered and otherwise) faced by marginalised discourses, perspectives and knowledges in Indian academic and policy circles.</li> <li>2 The challenges of accessing non-mainstream Indian literature and conducting research other than that prioritised by governments or supra-national agencies.</li> <li>3 The production of knowledge on education: by whom, for what purposes and with what opportunities for dissemination and policy influence.</li> </ol>
--

From this list, there are two areas in the most urgent need of further study. These are:

1. The professional status, training development of teachers, in the light of their assigned role as social and gender 'change-agents'.
2. The impact of explicitly democratic, gender-sensitised curricula on Indian pupils' gender identities and relationships.

In 1900, the crude literacy rate for Indian women was less than 1%. At the first Census after Independence in 1951, this figure was 7.93%. By 2001, it had risen to 45.84% (Government of India, 2001a:114). Progress has undeniably been made, but despite gender specific policies, focussed strategies and significant investment, the gender gap persists. By the end of the twentieth century, girls constituted 65% of the 89.64 million out-of-school children (Ramachandran, 2001:1). There is much in this study illustrating the enormity of the challenges of achieving greater gender equality and identifying shortcomings. Progress has, nevertheless, been impressive and all those who have contributed to this progress and are committed to these aims must be acknowledged.

Personally, I would welcome the opportunity to build on the relationships founded during this fieldwork, and conduct further research with the same teachers, Cohort 3 families and girls. I would like to revisit and expand on teacher interview data addressing interactions with the state' to explore what families really want from schooling, what degree of independence they would accept, and what would make them withdraw their daughters, and, finally, to research the lives and perspectives of a few girls more deeply. As I would prefer this research to be conducted by interested research participants and field assistants, I am working with four individuals, and welcome any requests for collaboration.

I have been repeatedly asked if it was worth it and if I would do it again. The answer to both questions must be an emphatic yes, although as it has been such a life-changing experience I could never 'do it again': nothing is as it was at the outset and my vision and optimism have been transformed. The fight for gender equality is not an 'interest-group struggle' of concern only to women or feminists, but a foundational component of global development and the fight against poverty, disease and inequality.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Global Development Orthodoxy

#### 1.1 Table 1: UN Millennium Development Goals

Goal 1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Goal 5 Improve maternal health
Goal 2 Achieve universal primary education	Goal 6 Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
Goal 3 Promote gender equality and empower women	Goal 7 Ensure environmental sustainability
Goal 4 Reduce child mortality	Goal 8 Develop a global partnership for development

International concern with the importance of women to development was reflected in the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, the United Nations Development Fund for Women and the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. This concern was focussed with the launching of the International Decade for Women at the 1975 Mexico City UN World Conference on Women, the 1979 *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women* and world conferences in 1980, 1985 and 1995 in Copenhagen, Nairobi and Beijing. The 1995 Beijing Declaration (FWCW Beijing, 1995a) and Platform for Action (FWCW Beijing, 1995b) called upon governments, the international community and civil society, including non-governmental organizations and the private sector to take strategic action for gender equality, addressing:

#### 1.2 Table 2: Beijing Platform for Action, 1995

1. The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women.
2. Inequalities, inadequacies in, and unequal access to education and training.
3. Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services.
4. Violence against women.
5. The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation.
6. Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources.
7. Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels.
8. Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women.
9. Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women.
10. Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media.
11. Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment.
12. Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl child.

International commitment to the achievement of basic education was first articulated in the 1990 *World Declaration on Education for All*, made from Jomtien, and the *Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs*, outlining a broad aspirational framework for the achievement of 'education for all' by 2000 (WCEFA-I Jomtien, 1990:3). Although this concern came much later than that focussed on gender equality, it was quickly absorbed into mainstream orthodoxy. Jomtien commitments were reaffirmed in the 2000 World Education Forum, which adopted the *Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments*, reaffirming and reframing the vision of the WDEFA and committing the world community to the achievement of education 'for every citizens in every society' (WEF-II Dakar, 2000:3). The framework acknowledged commitments made by the international community at ten gatherings throughout the 1990s, and committed signatories to the following six time-bound goals:

#### 1.3 Table 3: Dakar Framework for Action, 2000

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.
4. Achieving a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for adults.
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence so that recognised and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and life-skills.

1.4 Table 4: 1990-2004 HDR titles

1990	Concepts and measurement of human development
1991	Financing human development
1992	Global dimensions of human development
1993	People's participation
1994	New dimensions of human security
1995	Gender and human development
1996	Economic growth and human development
1997	Human development to eradicate poverty
1998	Consumption for human development
1999	Globalisation with a human face
2000	Human rights and human development
2001	Making new technologies work for human development
2002	Deepening democracy in a fragmented world
2003	Millennium Development Goals: a compact among nations to end human poverty
2004	Cultural Liberty in today's diverse world

1.5 Table 5: Formulas for calculation of HDI, HPI, GDI and GEM  
Taken from UNDP HDR 2003 (UNDP, 2003:340-349)

**HDI (Page 341)**

Life expectancy index

Education index - adult literacy index and gross enrolment index

GDP index - adjusted GDP per capita

**HPI-1 (Page 342)**

Probability at birth of not surviving beyond 40 (x 100)

Adult literacy rate

Percentage of population without sustainable access to improved water source

Percentage of children under weight for age

**GDI (Page 343)**

Equally distributed life expectancy index

Equally distributed education index

Equally distributed income index

**GEM (Page 345)**

(EDEP = Equally distributed equivalent percentages)

EDEP for parliamentary representation

EDEP for economic participation

EDEP for income

Appendix 2: The three discourses in Indian literature  
2.1 Styles and foci of the literature

<b>Development Discourse</b>	<b>Globalised, modernised, competitive. 'Cosmopolitan'</b>	<b>Modernised and progressive, but just, egalitarian and democratically reasoned.</b>	<b>Indigenous, community development. 'Communitarian'.</b>
Education primarily to develop:	Human capital, more latterly capabilities.	Capabilities, autonomy, participation.	Wholeness, appreciation of alternatives, spirituality.
Formal schooling a:	Social good from which all will automatically benefit. Notion of level playing field.	Social good from which some will benefit more than others. High awareness of 'conversion factors' (Sen) and impact of exclusions.	Process of mass-production of automats, of 'dumbing down'
Development Paradigm	As global development orthodoxy, but highly input-output, mechanistic.	Also as global development orthodoxy, but emphasising justice, equality and informed reasoning.	Alternative, post-development: resistance to neo-imperial tendencies of GDO.
Main constituencies	State and national governments, World Bank, bilateral partners	UN agencies, NGOs, academics: feminist and non-feminist. (All feminists in this category).	Academics, some NGOs.
Scale of gaze	Macro	Macro and individual	Micro and community
Emphasis re purpose of education	Instrumental, serving the state.	Intrinsic – individuals. Instrumental, for social group.	Instrumental, serving the community.
Gender concerns second to those of:	State	Sometimes social group. Central to feminist work.	Community.
Type of studies	Statistical overviews, evaluations, impact assessments. Tendency to use statistics to demonstrate progress	Historical, policy and qualitative overviews and assessments of progress towards equality and empowerment agendas. Some NGO/activist work tends towards description and justification. Academic work more theoretical and exploratory.	Small scale, tendency towards description and justification. Historical exploration of indigenous knowledge and social relationships. Embraces spiritual or religious aspects. Critiquing EFA and some feminist agendas.
Style of studies	Tendency to quantification. Emphasis on GERs, exams at Standard 5, 8, 10 and 12, and census measure of literacy.	Use of quantitative secondary data, tendency towards qualitative investigation.	Descriptive, historical, aspirational. Focus on the past and tradition. Some micro, community level qualitative explorations.
Approach	Practical, technical, focus on supply-side and inputs - infrastructure, management, trainings, materials – and efficiency and effectiveness.	More theoretical, some highly so, but varying degrees of application of theory. Much problematising of government positions and programmes.	More theoretical and abstract, some highly so with little application to contemporary situation.
Main organisations/ Institutions.	Gov, WB, DFID, EU, DPEP/EdCIL, statistical, economic and management institutes, NCERT, NIEPA, SCERTs, RIE's, DIETs,	UNESCO, Women's Studies institutions/departments/cells, (led by Usha Nayar in NCERT) Universities, MACESE, independent consultancies, UNICEF, Eklavya.	Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Shikshanter, SIDH, Swadhaya, Gandhigram, Departments of history, literature, cultural studies.

## 2.2 Sample literature from first and third discourses

### 2.2.1 Sample literature from first, 'mainstream' government and agency discourse

#### **Governments of India and Madhya Pradesh**

Government of India. (1994), *Education For All: The Indian Scene*. New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development: Department of Education.

Government of India. (1997), *DPEP Guidelines*. (Second ed.). New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India. (2000), *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan: A Programme for Universal Elementary Education in India*. New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India. (2001), *DPEP JRM Report: Part 1: Progress Overview*. New Delhi: Government of India, DEEL.

Government of India. (2001), *Working Group Report on Elementary and Adult Education: Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007)*. New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, MHRD.

Government of India. (2002), *Education for All: National Plan of Action*. New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development (Retrieved from [www.ssa.nic.in/efa.asp](http://www.ssa.nic.in/efa.asp). Consulted on 26.9.04. Publication date not given).

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1998), *The Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report 1998*. Bhopal: Directorate of Institutional Finance.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2000), *Curriculum for Elementary Education*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.

Government of Madhya Pradesh (ed.) (2000b), *From Your School To Our School: Education Guarantee Scheme*. Bhopal: Madhyam, for Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002), *The Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report 2002*. Bhopal: Directorate of Institutional Finance, Government of Madhya Pradesh.

NCERT. (1991), *Minimum Levels of Learning at the Primary Stage: Report of the Committee set up by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.

NCERT. (2000), *National Curriculum Framework for School Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.

Sharma, A. (2003), *Experiences of Thinking Through Gender Equality and Curriculum: The Case of Madhya Pradesh*. Paper Presented for the First DFID-funded IOE/Oxfam Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access Project. (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Amita%20Sharma%20paper.pdf>. Consulted 9.11.04).

Sharma, A. (2003), 'Idea of Education: Epistemic Tensions and Educational Reform'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38:32, 3391-3400.

#### **Education Consultants, India Ltd. (EdCil)**

Aggrawal, Y. (2001), *DPEP 2001: Progress Towards Universal Access and Retention (CD ROM)*. New Delhi: NIEPA.

EdCIL. (1998), *Access and Retention: The Impact of DPEP. National Overview (Published Report)*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

EdCIL. (1998), *DPEP Moves On: Towards Universalising Primary Education*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

EdCIL. (1998), *Three Years of DPEP and Learners' Achievement: An Overview (Published Report)*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

EdCIL. (1998), *Three Years of DPEP: Assessment and Challenges (Published Report)*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

EdCil. (1999), *Options for Change: Innovations and Experiments in the District Primary Education Programme*. New Delhi: EdCil.

EdCil. (1999), *Reaching Out Further: Para Teachers in Primary Education*. New Delhi: EdCil.

EdCil. (2000), *Bringing Girls Centre-stage: Strategies and Interventions for Girls' Education in DPEP*. New Delhi: EdCil.

EdCil. (2001), *Inside the School: A Synthesis of Case Studies of Classroom Processes*. New Delhi: EdCil.

#### **Supra-National Agencies**

DFID. (1997), *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century*. London: HMSO.

DFID. (1999), *Learning Opportunities For All: A Policy Framework For Education*. London: DFID.

DFID. (2004), *Partnership for Development: DFID's Country Plan in India 2004-2008*. London: DFID.

Smawfield, D. and Poulsen, H. (2000), *Mainstreaming Gender Through Sector Wide Approaches in Education: India Case Study*. London and Cambridge: ODI and CEC.



World Bank. (1997), *Primary Education in India*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.  
 World Bank. (2001), *Engendering Development: Through Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

### **National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT)**

Buch, M. B. (ed.) (1974), *A Survey of Research in Education*. Baroda: University of Baroda.  
 Buch, M. B. (ed.) (1979), *Second Survey of Research in Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 Buch, M. B. (ed.) (1987), *Third Survey of Research in Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 Buch, M. B. (ed.) (1991), *Fourth Survey of Research in Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1991), *Evaluation of Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP) in Madhya Pradesh*. New Delhi: NCERT, Department of Education in Science and Mathematics.  
 NCERT (ed.) (1995), *Studies on School Effectiveness and Learning Achievement at the Primary Stage: International Perspective (1995 Seminar)*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1996: July), *Indian Educational Abstracts: Issue 1*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT (ed.) (1997), *Fifth Survey of Educational Research: 1988-92. Volume I*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1997), *Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1993-94: Educational Facilities in Rural and Urban Areas*. (Vol. 1). New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training.  
 NCERT (ed.) (1997), *Studies on Classroom Processes and School Effectiveness at the Primary Stage (1996 Seminar)*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1997: January), *Indian Educational Abstracts: Issue 2*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1997: July), *Indian Educational Abstracts: Issue 3*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1998), *Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1993-94: Age-wise Enrolment, Repeaters, Incentives, Schemes etc.* (Vol. 6). New Delhi: National Council for Educational Research and Training.  
 NCERT. (1998), *Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1993-94: Enrolment in Schools*. (Vol. 4). New Delhi: National Council for Educational Research and Training.  
 NCERT. (1998), *Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1993-94: Qualifications and Service Conditions of Teachers*. (Vol. 7). New Delhi: National Council for Educational Research and Training.  
 NCERT. (1998), *Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1993-94: Schools and Physical Facilities*. (Vol. 2). New Delhi: National Council for Educational Research and Training.  
 NCERT. (1998), *Sixth All India Educational Survey, 1993-94: Teachers in Schools*. (Vol. 3). New Delhi: National Council for Educational Research and Training.  
 NCERT (ed.) (1998), *Studies on Teacher Empowerment and School Effectiveness at the Primary Stage (1997 Seminar)*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1998: January), *Indian Educational Abstracts: Issue 4*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1998: July), *Indian Educational Abstracts: Issue 5*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT (ed.) (1999), *Studies on Learning Organisation, Community Participation and School Effectiveness at the Primary Stage (1998 Seminar)*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT. (1999: January), *Indian Educational Abstracts: Issue 6*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT (ed.) (2000), *Studies on Research in School Effectiveness at the Primary Stage (1999 Seminar)*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT (ed.) (2001), *Classroom Process: A National Picture*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 NCERT (ed.) (2001), *Classroom Processes. Comparative Case Studies: Madhya Pradesh State*. New Delhi: NCERT.

### **Academic overviews from individuals**

Bhatnagar, T. N. S. (1995), 'Role of Teachers in the Emerging Indian Society: A Review'. *Journal of Indian Education*, 21:1, 43-49.  
 Dave, P. N. (1997), 'Primary Education: A Trend Report'. In NCERT (ed.), *Fifth Survey of Educational Research: 1988-1992. Volume I*. New Delhi: NCERT.  
 Govinda, R. and Buch, M. B. (1990), 'Indian Research in Teacher Education: A Review'. In R. Tisher and M. Wideen (eds), *Research In Teacher Education: International Perspectives*. Basingstoke: The Falmer Press.  
 Mishra, R. C. (1999), 'Research on Education In India'. *Prospects*, 29:3, 335-347.  
 Nayar, U. (1994), 'Educational Research Environment: The Indian Experience'. *Journal of Indian Education*, 20:1, 50-61.  
 Raina, V. K. (1997), 'Social Science Education: A Trend Report'. In NCERT (ed.), *Fifth Survey of Educational Research: 1988-92. Volume I* (pp. 339-353). New Delhi: NCERT.  
 Raina, V. K. (1999), 'Indigenizing Teacher Education in Developing Countries: The Indian Context'. *Prospects*, 29: 1, 5-25.  
 Rajput, J. S. and Walia, K. (1998), 'Assessing Teacher Effectiveness in India: Overview and Critical Appraisal'. *Prospects*, 28:1, 137-150.

Sharma, A. K. (1997), 'Educational Research in India: An Overview'. In NCERT (ed.), *Fifth Survey of Research in Education: 1988-92. Volume I*. New Delhi: NCERT.

Yadav, M. S. and Lakshmi, T. K. S. (1998), 'Educational Research: The Indian Scene'. *Indian Educational Review*, 33, 1-15.

#### 2.2.2 Sample literature from third, 'post-development' discourse

- Dharampal. (2000), *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century*. (Third ed.). (Vol. 1). Mapusa, Goa: Other India Press
- Dharampal. (2000), *Civil Disobedience in Indian Tradition*. (Third ed.). (Vol. 2). Mapusa, Goa: Other India Press.
- Dharampal. (2000), *The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century*. (Third ed.). (Vol. 3). Mapusa, Goa: Other India Press
- Dharampal. (2000), *Panchayat Raj and India's Polity*. (Third ed.). (Vol. 4). Mapusa, Goa: Other India Press.
- Dharampal. (2000), *Essays on Tradition, Recovery and Freedom*. (Third ed.). (Vol. 5). Mapusa, Goa: Other India Press.
- Ghosh, S. C. (1993), 'English in Taste, in Opinions, in Words and Intellect: Indoctrinating the Indian Through Textbook, Curriculum and Education'. In J. A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience* (pp. 175-193). London: Routledge.
- Gupta, P., Joshi, A. and Crumpton, B. (2000), 'Learning for Life in the Hills: A Community School Experiment (A Case Study from SIDH, India)'. In M. Molteno, K. Ogadhoh, E. Cain and B. Crumpton (eds), *Towards Responsive Schools: Supporting Better Schooling for Disadvantaged Children (Case Studies from Save the Children)*. London: DFID.
- Kishwar, M. (1994), 'A Horror of Isms'. In M. Evans (ed.), *The Woman Question* (pp. 22-29). London: Sage.
- Mohanty, C. (1988), 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'. *Feminist Review*, 30, 61-88.
- Pagalthivarthi, K. V. (No date), *Wake Up Intellectuals: A Vedic Eye-Opener for Genuine Intellectuals*. New Delhi: Maybe IIT Delhi.
- Pieterse, J. N. and Parekh, B. (eds) (1995), *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*. London: Zed Books.
- Rahnema, M. (1997), 'Development and the People's Immune System: The Story of Another Variety of AIDS'. In M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (eds), *The Post-Development Reader*. London: Zed Press.
- Scrase, T. J. (1993), *Image, Ideology and Inequality: Cultural Domination, Hegemony and Schooling in India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Scrase, T. J. (ed.) (1997), *Social Justice and Third World Education*. New York: Garland.
- Shiva, V. (1997), 'Western Science and its Destruction of Local Knowledge'. In M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (eds), *The Post-Development Reader* (pp. 161-167). London: Zed Press.
- Spivak, G. C. (1999), *A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present*. (1st ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.



### Appendix 3: Ruling parties in India and Madhya Pradesh

#### 3.1 India

Date from	Date to	Ruling Party
1877	1947	British
15.8.47	1.12.69	National Congress Party (INC)
?12.69	24.3.77	National Congress Party-Indira Gandhi Faction (INC-I, split from INC)
24.3.77	28.7.79	People's Party
28.7.79	?9.79	Janata Secular Party (JSP)
?9.979	14.1.80	Lok Dal (developed from JSP)
14.1.80	2.12.89	INC-I
2.12.89	21.6.92	Janata Dal (JD)
21.6.91	16.5.96	INC-I
16.5.96	1.6.96	Indian People's Party (BJP)
1.6.96	18.3.98	JD
19.3.98	22.5.04	BJP
22.5.04	Present	INC-I

#### 3.2 Madhya Pradesh

Date From	Date to	Ruling Parties
Became a state in 1956		
1.11.56	29.7.67	Congress
30.7.67	12.3.69	Combined Parties
13.3.69	29.4.77	Congress
30.4.77	25.6.77	President's Rule
26.6.77	17.1.78	?
18.1.78	17.2.80	BJP
18.2.80	8.6.80	President's Rule
9.6.80	4.3.90	Congress
5.3.90	15.12.92	BJP
16.12.92	6.2.93	President's Rule
7.12.93	?10.03	Congress
?110.03	Present	BJP

## Appendix 4: National and Madhya Pradesh curricula and Eklavya statements

### 4.1 National Scheme of Studies

#### National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCERT, 2000:45-49)

##### Standards 1 and 2

1. One language – mother tongue or regional language
2. Mathematics
3. Art of Healthy and Productive Living

##### Standards 3 to 5

1. One language – mother tongue or regional language
2. Mathematics
3. Environmental Studies
4. Art of Healthy and Productive Living

##### Standards 6 to 10

1. Three languages – mother tongue or regional language, modern Indian language and English
2. Mathematics
3. Science and Technology
4. Social Sciences
5. Work Education
6. Art Education (fine arts: visual and performing)
7. Health and physical education (including games and sports, yoga, NCC, scouting and guiding)

### 4.2 Madhya Pradesh Scheme of Studies

#### Curriculum for Elementary Education in Madhya Pradesh (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000a)

##### Standards 1 to 4

1. Language - Hindi
2. Mathematics
3. Environmental Studies

##### Standard 5

1. Languages – Hindi and English
2. Mathematics
3. Environmental Studies
4. English

##### Standards 6 to 8

1. Languages – Hindi, Sanskrit, English
2. Mathematics
3. Science
4. Social Sciences (Geography, History, Civics)

#### 4.3 Eklavya Statements

##### **'We Believe' (Eklavya, 1999:6-7)**

1. That education can help build a scientific-historical understanding of the structure of society and its development.
2. That education equips us with the necessary skills and methods for analysing the physical and intellectual world.
3. That education should help to develop problem-solving skills, the spirit of enquiry and scientific temper.
4. That education cannot be looked at in isolation from the society and environment in which it is located.
5. That education can be a means for motivating people to change the conditions in which they live.
6. That education should first be centred around the needs and thought processes of the child.
7. That, given the chance, children have an immense capacity to imagine, to learn and to create – traits that need to be nurtured and encouraged.
8. That the child-to-child learning process must be given as much importance as the teacher-to-child learning process.
9. That the content and methodology of education should be open to continuous change and evolution.
10. That educational innovations should not be restricted to islands of excellence 'in a sea of mediocrity'. They must encompass the entire education system.
11. That the teacher's role is important to the process of educational innovation and the teaching community should be given the recognition which is its rightful due in all matters pertaining to education.
12. That science and technology are not esoteric spheres of thought and action. They need to be approached with wisdom and a concern for social equality and justice.
13. That science and technology is rooted in people's knowledge and understanding, and addresses their needs, it can be a powerful engine of change and development.
14. That development must, necessarily, be sustainable and in consonance with environmental imperatives. Such development must be based upon the participation of local communities.

##### **'Our Approach to Innovation in School Education' (Eklavya, 1999:10-11)**

1. We perceive educational innovation as an integrated package. It does not suffice merely to write a new textbook or instruct teachers to teach by a new method. An effective innovation must address all aspects that affect the teaching-learning process in the classroom – examination system, administrative structure, finances etc.
2. Curriculum development is a participative and collaborative effort involving subject experts, researchers, designers, artists, field level workers, teachers and children. We begin by developing a critique of the existing curricula. An alternative framework of curriculum is formulated. This is largely based on accepted principles and objectives of education. It is also informed by latest research on the learning process and the subject area.
3. Along with textbooks and workbooks, kits and other teaching-learning materials are designed for children. With an attempt to structure the content around the environment and life of the students, the activities rely heavily on use of locally available materials and take care of factors like cost reduction and procurability.
4. Appropriate re-orientation and training programmes for teachers in the methodology and content of the new curriculum are devised and implemented.
5. To ensure further back up at the classroom level, a system of regular visits to every school by resource persons has been set in place. Such visits are also a major source for feedback on the curriculum package, and essential input for further development.
6. Teachers meet once every month to discuss and sort out classroom problems. These meetings also provide a forum for continuous training and feedback collection.
7. Evaluation methods and examination systems have been designed according to learning objectives, as they tend to become major determining factors of classroom practice. We have developed alternative systems of open-book written as well as practical examinations.
8. Decentralised administrative structures which are more responsive to needs of teachers are essential to sustain innovations. We seek to develop such systems of academic support and administration.
9. In developing every aspect of an innovative package, one of our major efforts is that it must be replicable. This enables us to contribute at the level of policy-making in education.
10. At the national level, we share our ideas and experiences in order to enrich the debate for educational reforms.

## Appendix 5: Guidelines for teacher pay and incentives

Seven 'grades' of teacher span 11 pay points: principals, lecturers and head-teachers (in middle school and above); Upper Division Teachers (UDT); Lower Division Teachers (LDT); Shiksha Karmis (SK), Samvidha Shikshaks (SS); and Gurujis. The first four grades draw basic salary, 41% of this as an inflation allowance (DA), and an annual increment, up to, not exceeding, the relevant grade ceiling. UDTs were not employed in the primary sector, but, after serving 12 years, an LDT will start on the bottom of the pay scale for UDTs (Point 9). After serving another 12 years/she will have reached the top of that scale and will start at the bottom of the pay scale for a middle school head-teacher (point 10). Shiksha Karmis, of which there are three sub-divisions, become permanent after three years, draw a set salary (Rs 800, 1,000 or 1,200), plus 182% of this sum as DA, bringing the fixed monthly salary of a Class 3 SK (the lowest division) to Rs 2,256. Samvidha Shikshaks, also with three divisions, draw higher salaries (between Rs.2,500 and Rs 4,500 monthly), but never become permanent. Gurujis, employed in the EGS schools under community 'discretion', earn a fixed monthly income of Rs 1,000.

Pay point	Basic pay minimum	Basic pay maximum	Teacher title/type
11	6500	10500	GHSS Principal
10	5500	9000	GHSS Lecturer, GHS and GMS Principal/Head Teacher
9	5000	8000	UDT - Upper Division Teacher
8	4000	6000	LDT - Lower Division Teacher
7	1200	Plus 182% DA	SK1 Shiksha Karmi 1
6	1000	Plus 182% DA	SK1 Shiksha Karmi 2
5	800	Plus 182% DA	SK1 Shiksha Karmi 3 (Lowest Grade SK)
4	4500	Fixed	SS1 Samvidha Shikshak 1
3	3500	Fixed	SS1 Samvidha Shikshak 2
2	2500	Fixed	SS1 Samvidha Shikshak 3 (Lowest grade SS)
1	1000	Fixed	Guruji

SKs become permanent after 3 years. SS - Non-permanent, 'Contract Teachers'. (Met only in rural schools).

SS's paid much more than SK's – but no job security. There are no UDTs in the primary sector

All except SK, SS and Guruji get the following extra incentives (HR, DA and AI):-

HR (House Rent Allowance). Urban = 7% of basic pay. Rural = 4% of basic pay.

DA (Dearness Allowance/Price Hike Allowance) (MB in Hindi - Mhengahai Bhatta)

For P, HM, L, UDT and LDT, DA is 41% of basic pay

SK's get a DA/MB of 182% of basic pay.

AI (Annual Increment) determined by post - see below

Principal: 225

HT/Pradhan Paathak: 175

Lecturer: 175

UDT:150

LDT:100

Teachers' annual increments cannot take them over the 'top pay' for their grade, BUT:

If LDT works for 12 years, still termed LDT but gets salary of UDT - Point 9

If LDT works for 24 years, still termed LDT but gets salary of HT/HSS Lecturer - Point 10

If UDT works for 12 years, still termed UDT but gets salary of HT/HSS Lecturer - Point 10

All 24 teachers in the sample were either LDTs or SK's.

(In the thesis text, I refer to LDTs as 'established-teachers' and to Shiksha Karmis as 'para-teachers').

Source: DEO Office, Nakuur, February 2003

## Appendix 6: Progress on Gender Equality and Universal Elementary Education

6.1 Table 1: Goals, targets and indicators for MDG 2 and 3

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	Indicators
Target 3: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling	6. Net enrolment ratio in primary education 7a. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 7b. Primary completion rate 8. Literacy rate of 15–24 year-olds
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	Indicators
Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015	9. Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education 10. Ratio of literate women to men 15–24 years old 11. Share of women in wage employment in non-agricultural sector 12. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament

6.2 Table 2: Progress of India and Madhya Pradesh against MDGs 2 and 3

Indicators	Performance	
MDG 2	India	Madhya Pradesh
6. Net enrolment ratio in primary education	N/A	N/A
7a. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5	N/A	N/A
7b. Primary completion rate (It is stated that national data is 'preliminary', and 'requires further investigation' (UNDP, 2003:204)	68% in 1999	N/A
8. Literacy rate of 15–24 year-olds	73.3% in 2001	73% in 1999
MDG 3		
9. Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education		
Primary	0.77 in 1999	N/A
Secondary	0.61 in 1999	N/A
Tertiary	0.61 in 1999	N/A
10. Ratio of literate women to men 15–24 years old	0.82 in 2001	0.75 in 1999
11. Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector	17% in 2001	N/A
12. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	9% in 2003	N/A for state parliament

India source UNDP HDR 2003 (UNDP, 2003:199, 204). Madhya Pradesh source (Drèze and Sen, 2002:396)

6.3 Table 3: Educational achievements of 15-19 year olds in India and Madhya Pradesh

Stage completed (in percentages)		Illiterate	Literate, but primary not completed	Primary (At least 5 years)	Middle (At least 8 years)	Beyond (8 or more years)
India	Boys	14.7	8	21.4	30.3	25.7
	Girls	31.8	7.4	18.2	21.5	21.1
Boy/girl representation as % of enrolment	Boys	32%	52%	54%	58%	55%
	Girls	68%	48%	46%	42%	45%
Madhya Pradesh	Boys	14.8	9	31	27.8	17.4
	Girls	37	8	24	17	13.2
Boy/girl representation as % of enrolment	Boys	29%	53%	56%	62%	57%
	Girls	71%	47%	44%	38%	43%

Source: (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000:28; IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:22)

#### 6.4 Paragraph 4: The difficulty of calculating India's progress

For the overview of national progress, I use the 2003 Human Development Report (UNDP, 2003). (As the UNDP works with national data, however, all reservations apply). As the 2003 HDR does not present data for Indian states and as some of the India HDR data is old, I use the 2002 Madhya Pradesh HDR (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c) and data presented in London by the (then) RGSM Director (Sharma, 2003a). (All educational data in the MPHDR is presented in numbers, not percentages, so I do not use it). I also use data from Drèze and Sen (Drèze and Sen, 2002) and Ramachandran, although both often draw on NCAER/NFHS analysis.

In the statistical indices of the 2003 HDR (comparing the performance of 175 countries against indicators grouped under 29 themes), India's HDI rank was 127 (UNDP, 2003:239) and the GDI rank 103 (p312). (In many tables, however, the relevant entry states: 'data not available'. There are no primary or secondary net enrolment ratios (pp199, 272, 320); no entries for the Gender Empowerment Measure; for female legislators, senior officials and managers; for professional and technical workers; or for the ratio of estimated female to male earned income (p316); none for gendered ratios for employment in agriculture, industry, services or as contributing family workers (p324)). Of the indicators with data, 68% of pupils reached Standard 5 in 2000, women's literacy was 58% in 2001 (p272), when the female: male tertiary education ratio 0.66 to 1 (p320). In 2001, 42% of women were involved in economic activity (p324) and their share of non-agricultural wage employment was 17% (p204). In 2000, women were 10% of those in government at ministerial level; with 8.8% representation in the lower house, 10% in the upper (p329).

In 2001, Madhya Pradesh women's literacy was 50%, rural women's literacy 43%. In 2003, girls' GER was 101% at the primary stage, 74% at the middle stage, and thus 94% for elementary schooling (Sharma, 2003a:Table 2). (These figures, including the primary GER of 101%, are those reported by government: this further underlines the inadequacy of the data). According to the MPHDR, drawing on the 2001 Census, the female share of main workers was 26%; cultivators 37%; agricultural labourers 53%; household industry workers 50%, and all other workers 16% (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c:422-423). The only figure for female share in total public sector employment, the most lucrative form, was 10%, but the data was from 1989 (Drèze and Sen, 2002:398). (Data for India was 'not available').

Neither publication has categories for women's political representation, at any level. All that Drèze and Sen present as measures of autonomy are percentages (from NFHS-2) of ever-married women aged 15-49 who: work outside their household; have access to money; or do not need permission to either (a) go to the market, or (b) visit relatives. The fact that such pitiful proxies have been used, coupled with the low results (31%, 49%, 21% and 20% - and 25%, 60%, 32% and 24% for India) emphasises the depth of gendered inequalities. Half of the adult female population have no access to money and 80% have to ask permission to go to the market or visit relatives (Drèze and Sen, 2002:398). What Drèze and Sen's analysis does not illustrate is that correlation was only significant after 12 years or more of education, not after 5 or 8 years (IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001:50). This raises the question of whether the apparent 'autonomy gains' resulted from education, or if they were life-styles features of more affluent families whose daughters were able to complete their education. Whatever the cause/ scope of these 'gains', they do not signify much substantive participation.

## Appendix 7: Data collection activities and times

### 7.1 Table 1: Phases of the study

Phase 1: Feasibility study & pilot	Phase 2: Data collection	Phase 3: Data collection
March and July 2001	Oct 2001 to March 2002	Oct 2002 to March 2003

### 7.2 Table 2: Background/contextualising activities

	Primary	Middle	Tuition	Totals
Schools visited	20	15	8	43
Schools where observation occurred	8	6	4	18
Significant interaction with teachers	F: 13   M: 16	F: 28   M: 17	F: 0   M: 3	77
Trainings observed	3	6	0	9
Number of trainees	650 ++	200 +	0	850
Minimum number of focus school visits	Vidya: 122	Sagar: 75	8	205

### 7.3 Table 3: Observations

(See columns 3 and 4 for A and B)	No. teachers observed		No. of observations	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Primary: non focus-classes	11	11	30	17
Middle: non focus-classes	2	3	4	4
Totals : non focus-classes	13	14	34	21
Std 5 Phase 2* (See columns 3+4 for A+B)	0	1	0 A	15 A
Non-recorded class interactions	Not relevant	See column 4	0	20
Std 5 Phase 3*	0	2	0 B	25 B
Non-recorded class interactions	Not relevant	See column 4	0	15
Of B – No. unstructured observations	Not relevant	See column 4	0	10 (4 tuition)
Of B – No. videoed observations	Not relevant	See column 4	0	15
Totals: Standard 5	0	2	A + B = 0	A + B = 40
Std 8 Phase 2*	1	3	15 A	13 A
Non-recorded class interactions	See column 3	See column 4	6	8
Std 8 Phase 3*	2	2	18 B	20 B
Non-recorded class interactions	See column 3	See column 4	6	6
Of B – No. unstructured observations	See column 3	See column 4	6	10 (4 tuition)
Of B- No. videoed observations	See column 3	See column 4	12	10
Totals: Standard 8	2	4	A + B = 34	A + B = 33
Totals (F:M) All phases, classes, teachers	15	20	68	94
Totals	35		162	

### 7.4 Table 4: Teacher interviews

	No. teachers interviewed		No. of interviews	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Primary: non focus-classes	6	6	10	12
Middle: non focus-classes	4	2	4	2
Totals: non focus-classes	10	8	14	14
Std 5 Phase 2*	0	1	0	3
Std 5 Phase 3*	0	2	0	4
Totals: Standard 5	0	2	0	7
Std 8 Phase 2*	1	0	4	0
Std 8 Phase 3*	2	2	4	2
Totals: Standard 8	2	2	8	4
Totals (F:M) All phases, classes, teachers	12	12	22	25
Totals	24		47	

### 7.5 Table 5: Standard 5 and 8, pupil and family background data and interviews

	No. of pupils for whom background data			Pupil interviews			Interviews with pupils'		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls'	Boys'	Total
Std 5 Cohort	25	20	45	8	2	10	9	0	9
Std 5 Cohort	25	35	60	21	25	46	19	24	43
Std 8 Cohort	18	23	41	8	0	8	6	0	6
Std 8 Cohort	20	30	50	19	29	48	19	28	47
Totals	88	108	196	56	56	112	53	52	105

\* Standard 5 Phase 2 teacher: Deepak Patodia.

Standard 5 Phase 3 teachers: Deepak Patodia. (Sanni Kevat - Tuition).

Standard 8 Phase 2 teachers: Rounak Tiwari, Santosh Pandey, Shailesh Chaubey, Durgesh Sankhercy.

Standard 8 Phase 3 teachers: Rounak Tiwari, Seema Dhakley, Santosh Pandey. (Lalit Varma - Tuition).

8.1 Table 1: Standard 5 structured lesson observation schedule blank

	Name	I	W	Name	I	W	Name	I	W	Name	I	W	Name	I	W	Name	I	W	Name	I	W
H	Absent girl	A	A							Girls present			# Boy 5x2			# Boy N			Absent boy	A	A
E		A	A							am/pm										A	A
M			A							A	Boys present			Q34						Q12-S-EVS	
H	Absent girl	A	A	# Damini			Absent girl	A	A	# Boy 3			# Boy 5x2			# Boy N			Absent boy	A	A
E		A	A	Gehlot 4				A	A								A	A			
M			A	A	Q41				A		A	Q23					Q35				Q32
H	# Anu Khan 5			# Suman Gehlot 4			# Damini Chandel 5			# Boy 3			# Boy 5			# Boy 4+5			Absent boy	A	A
E																				A	A
M	Q21- S-English			Q53			Q42			Q37-S-Engl			Q31			Q50				A	A
H	# Sudha Kaithwas N			# Kanchan Kaithwas N			# Rani Kaithwas 5			# Boy 3			# Boy 5x2			# Boy 4x2			# Boy 5		
E																					
M	Q25			33			Q28-S-English			Q49			Q2-S3			Q5-S3			Q54		
H	# Ananya Kaithwas N			# Ananya Nuikey N			# Rashmi Dohar 1+5			# Boy 1+4			# Boy N			# Boy 4+5			# Boy 4		
E																					
M	Q13-S2			Q20			Q48			Q51			Q36			Q52			Q40		
H	#Priya Gehlot N			# Aruna Kaithwas 5			# Sujata Saini N			# Boy 5			# Boy 3+5			# Boy 4			# Boy 4		
E																					
M	Q14-S-English			Q9-S2			Q17			Q29			Q6-S2			Q47			Q27		
H	#Kamini Kalsi 5			# Shobha Gehlot N			# Sujata Khorey 5			# Boy ?			# Boy 3			# Boy N			# Boy 5		
E																					
M	Q43			Q30			Q44			Q11-S-English			Q16			Q24-S-EVS			Q19		
H	# Aradhna Uikey 5			# Parul Kaithwas 5x2			# Rewa Prasad N			# Boy 4			# Boy			# Boy N			# Boy 4		
E																					
M	Q38			Q22			Q15-S2			Q26			Q18			Q4-S4			Q45		
H	# Bina Phurvi 5			# Reena Singh N			# Sunanda Prasad N			# Boy N			# Boy N			# Boy 3			# Boy N		
E																					
M	Q39			Q1-S4			Q3-S4			Q7-S2			Q10-S2			Q46			Q8-S2		
	No. present	BB		No. present	BB		No. present	BB		No. present	BB		No. present	BB		No. present	BB		No. present	BB	
	No. present	AB		No. present	AB		No. present	AB		No. present	AB		No. present	AB		No. present	AB		No. present	AB	



## 8.2 Key to Standard 5 structured observation schedule

	<i>Name</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>W</i>
<i>H</i>			
<i>E</i>			
<i>M</i>			

	<i>Name</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>W</i>
<i>H</i>	A	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>
<i>E</i>		<b>E</b>	<b>F</b>
<i>M</i>	B (S+ number)	<b>G</b>	<b>H</b>

Key to italic font – integral to schedule, same for all students

Name Pupil Name

H Hindi

E Environmental Studies (EVS)

M Maths

I 'Interaction style' (R, Q, C, O, S, B - see below)

W Written work (1 to 6 for Hindi and EVS, 1, 3, 5 and 6 for maths - see below)

Key to non-italic, non-bold font - completed prior to observation, unique

A Roll number, name and surname, classes repeated and number of times

B Students' class rank in most recent (quarterly) exam

S+ no. Number of subjects in which pupil among 'top 10' in quarterly exams

Key to non-italic, bold font – completed during observations

C 'Interaction style' entry for Hindi

D Comment on lesson's written work for Hindi

E 'Interaction style' entry for EVS

F Comment on lessons' written work for EVS

G 'Interaction style' entry for Maths

H Comment on lesson's written work for Maths

'Interaction style' possibilities

R Is asked by teacher to lead reading

Q Gives answer to a question asked by teacher

C Calls out in response to teacher

O Offers to answer or lead reading

S Silent - not chanting with class

B Asked question but cannot answer (blank)

(Other possibilities to add to unstructured observation notes - not during the week of videoing)

F Very fast response rate

T Trying/ making an effort

N Not paying attention at all

L Totally lost!

Written work possibilities (Hindi and EVS)

1 Very neat, very fast, answers in books correct

2 Good, neat, but not super-fast

3 Okay - should be able to cope

4 Very scruffy and slow, but some understanding

5 Very little understanding, hardly able to write

6 Only copies question/no independent writing at all

7 Copied question not even complete

Written work possibilities (Maths)

1 Solved

3 Trying to work it out

5 Some writing, but really stuck

6 Question not even copied from book or board

8.3 Table 2: Standard 8 structured lesson observation schedule blank

	Name	I	P	W	Name	I	P	W	Name	I	P	W	Name	I	P	W
E					# Boy N				# Boy N				# Boy 6			
M																
SS																
SC					Q41-W1				Q36-W1				Q25			
E					# Boy 8				# Boy 5				# Boy 4			
M																
SS																
SC					Q49-W4				Q43-W2				Q15			
E					# Kanchan				# Boy N				# Boy 5			
M					Gourey 3											
SS																
SC					Q5-S2				Q40-W2				Q2-S2			
E	# Rakhi				# Damini				# Boy 5				# Boy 5			
M	Khorey N				Sutar N											
SS																
SC	Q22				Q31				Q45-W3				Q15-S3			
E	# Meena				# Leela				# Boy 3&4				# Boy N			
M	Sahu 3				Rehlot 4											
SS																
SC	Q18				Q27				Q21				Q37-W1			
E	# Alka				# Lajwanti				# Boy 5				# Boy N			
M	Khorey 5				Sahu 3											
SS																
SC	Q24				Q9-S3				Q42-W1				Q11			
E	# Bali Singh				# Lajwanti				# Boy 4				# Boy 4			
M	N				Chaudri N											
SS																
SC	Q46-W3				Q29-S1				Q20				Q13-S1			
E	# Sharmila				# Jagruti				# Boy N				# Boy N			
M	Khorey N				Sahu 3											
SS																
SC	Q31				Q37-W2				Q47-W4				Q11-S1			
E	# Usha				# Pratima				# Boy N				# Boy 8			
M	Chhalotrey				Singh N											
SS	N															
SC	Q19				Q29				Q33				Q48-W3			
E	# Anamika				# Saroj Sahu				# Boy N				# Boy N			
M	Khorey N				4											
SS																
SC	Q4-S2				Q10-S1				Q33				Q28			
E	# Lekha				# Madhuri				# Boy N				# Boy N			
M	Sutar N				Sarvan N											
SS																
SC	Q15-S1				Q3-S2				Q23				Q37			
E					# Kanchan				# Boy 7x2				# Boy N			
M					Banwar 5											
SS																
SC					Q50-W3				Q26				Q44-W3			
E					1# Aruna				# Boy N				# Boy N			
M					Chhalotrey											
SS					N											
SC					Q13				Q5-S4				Q1-S4			
E					# Chitra				# Boy N				# Boy N			
M					Sahu N											
SS																
SC					Q5-S1				Q5-S3				Q33			
	No. present	BB			No. present	BB			No. present	BB			No. present	BB		
	No. present	AB			No. present	AB			No. present	AB			No. present	AB		

#### 8.4 Key to Standard 8 structured observation schedule

	<i>Name</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>W</i>
<i>E</i>				
<i>M</i>				
<i>SS</i>				
<i>Sc</i>				

	<i>Name</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>W</i>
<i>E</i>	M	<b>O</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>Q</b>
<i>M</i>		<b>R</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>T</b>
<i>SS</i>		<b>U</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>W</b>
<i>Sc</i>	N (S plus number) (W plus number)	<b>X</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>Z</b>

Key to italic font – integral to schedule, same for all students

Name	Pupil Name
E	English
M	Maths
SS	Social Studies
Sc	Science
I	'Interaction style' (R, Q, C, O, S, B - see below)
P	'Progress in class' (1 to 6 – see below)
W	Written work (1 to 6. H for homework submitted).

Key to non-italic, non-bold font – completed prior to observation, unique

M	Roll number, name and surname, classes repeated and number of times
N	Students' class rank in most recent (quarterly) exam
S+ no.	Number of subjects in which pupil among 'top 10' in quarterly exams
W+ no.	Number of subject pupil failed in quarterly exam (Not for Standard 5, none failed)

Key to non-italic, bold font – completed during observations

O/P/Q	Entries for English
R/S/T	Entries for Maths
U/V/W	Entries for Social Science
X/Y/Z	Entries for Science

'Interaction style' possibilities

R	Is asked by teacher to lead reading
Q	Gives answer to a question asked by teacher
C	Calls out in response to teacher
O	Offers to answer or lead reading
S	Silent - not chanting with class (Not relevant for Standard 8 as no 'chanting' after reader)
B	Asked question but cannot answer (blank)

(Other possibilities to add to unstructured observation notes - not during the week of videoing)

F	Very fast response rate
T	Trying/making an effort
N	Not paying attention at all
L	Totally lost!

'Progress in class' possibilities

1	Very fast
2	Okay, should be able to cope
3	Slow, but some understanding
4	Very little understanding
5	Trying/making an effort
6	Not following at all

Written work possibilities

1	All answers correct
2	Many answers correct
3	At least half correct
4	Quarter correct
5	Less than 10% correct
6	Not even the first question written
(H)	Homework handed in)

## 8.5 Fields for background data

### 8.5.1 Vidya Primary School

Date

School address

Which grades?

Total no. on roll: boys: girls (ST:SC:OBC:Other)

Total no. of classes (reported)

How many classes per grade?

Total number of classrooms?

Condition of classrooms

Level of lighting in classrooms?

Locks on classroom doors, windows?

Other rooms?

Veranda? Is it used?

Toilets?

Taps for drinking water?

Seating mats?

Storage cupboards?

Play area?

Boundary wall/fence?

Other notable features?

Total number of teachers (reported)

Morning Shift: 7

Officially 7 am to 12 midday

Afternoon Shift: 7

Officially 12 midday to 5 pm

Morning lesson and break times (official)

Morning lesson and break times (actual)

Afternoon lesson and break times (official)

Morning lesson and break times (actual)

### 8.5.2 Sagar Middle School

Date

School address

Contact telephone

Total number of teachers (reported)

Total no. on roll: boys: girls (ST:SC:OBC:Other)

School time (from, to)

Lessons and break times

First period

Second period

*Short break*

Third period

Fourth period

*Long break*

Fifth period

Sixth period

Supplementary

Year 6: teachers' name, total, boys: girls

In which room? How many pupils in total?

Boys: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Girls: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Totals: B&G/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Year 7: teachers' name, total, boys: girls

In which room? How many pupils in total?

Boys: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Girls: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Totals: B&G/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Year 8: teachers' name, total, boys: girls

In which room? How many pupils in total?

Boys: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others  
Girls: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others  
Totals: B&G/ST/SC/OBC/Others  
Totals: All ST/SC/OBC/Others

#### 8.5.3 Teachers

Teacher name  
Age (on 1.3.03)  
Date of birth  
Sex  
Caste/Jati/Gotra  
Home address and telephone number  
Teaching in which shift – am or pm?  
Standard(s) currently teaching  
Subject(s) typically teaching  
Teacher scale/class (MH, LDT, UDT, SK, SS/CT)  
Current pay scale and financial incentives?  
Marriage year.  
Spouses' education and occupation.  
Children? Order, sexes and ages?  
School education 1 to 11/12. Name of schools.  
(Gov/private) which town/s, village/s?  
Year passed Standard 11 or 12?  
Graduation? Subjects?  
How many years? Start and end years?  
Which Institute, Gov or private?  
Post-graduation? Subject?  
How many years? Start and end years?  
Which Institute, Gov or private?  
Others?  
How many years? Start and end years?  
Which Institute, Gov or private? Reg/priv/corres?  
Teacher training (BTI? B.Ed)?  
How many years? Start and end years?  
Which Institute, Gov or private? Reg/priv/corres?  
Teacher training (M.Ed)?  
How many years? Start and end years?  
Which Institute, Gov or private? Regular, private or correspondence?  
First teaching post – date/school/standard  
Each year after that – date/school/standard. (From start until 1.3.03)  
Government in-service training?  
Dates or how many days in which years? (Repeat for every training).  
Location? FT/PT/distance? Gov/Priv?  
Trainer or trainee?  
Non-government training? Name of organisation? (Repeat for every training).  
Dates or how many days in which years?  
Where?  
Trainer or trainee?  
Level of involvement with Eklavya (h/m/l)  
Level of knowledge of Eklavya's work (h/m/l)  
Eklavya Resource Teacher?  
Member of Government DRG (District Resource Group for Education)?  
Member of Government SRG (State Resource Group for Education)?

#### 8.5.4 Students

Pupil name and surname  
Fathers' name and surname (as per school records)  
Sex  
DoB (as given, not necessarily accurate)  
Age as of 1.7.02  
Rank as per age (R1)

Religion

Caste

Jati

Traditional Jati work

Attendance from register, monthly from July 2002 to February 2003

Annual attendance (against total number of days school open)

Rank as per attendance (R2)

Subject-wise final exams results for previous year

Rank in those exams (R3)

Subject-wise exam results for mid-year assessment

Rank in those exams (R4)

Subject-wise exam results for end of year board exams

Rank in those exams (R5)

In receipt of government incentive? Scholarship (including amount), uniform, books?

Does s/he attend tuition? How much are the fees?

How far s/he wants to study

How many times has failed and/or repeated, and which classes

What would s/he like to do in future?

Comments on creative writing and/or English exercises

#### 8.5.5 Families

Address (indicative also of neighbourhood type)

Father's work

Father literate?

Years' education

Mother's work

Mother literate?

Years' education

TV

Radio

Fridge

Fan

Do they own their own home?

Do they have land? How many acres?

No. in home

No. elder sisters

No. younger sisters

No elder brothers

No younger brothers

Sibling details: age, schooling level, gov/private school, marital status, employment  
(Listed separately for each one).

### 8.6 Interview schedules

#### 8.6.1 Phases 1 and 2 initial teacher interview topics

##### Background

1. Teacher background.
2. What gives pride and satisfaction?
3. Description of good and average teaching/learning experiences.
4. How do children best learn in school/class?
5. Constraints faced in teaching.
6. Characteristics of a good teacher.
7. Ideal working environment.
8. Opinion on syllabus, textbooks and exam system.
9. Purpose of school and education? Is it achieved?
10. Memorable training?
11. Level of interest in professional/job related issues.
12. Enjoyment of, satisfaction with, teaching?

**Girls**

1. Girls and boys' non-school lives.
2. Tuition.
3. Any shared individual/family characteristics of achieving girls?
4. Girls' reasons for valuing schooling, aspirations, attendance, determination.
5. Girls' post-school hopes? Employment?
6. Attitudes towards their futures, especially arranged marriages.

**Class realities**

1. Gendered behaviours in class?
2. Gendered subject preferences?
3. Are textbooks gendered?

**Parents**

1. Family motivation for sending girls to school.
2. Percentage of families dedicated to girls' schooling.
3. What do supportive families do for their daughters?
4. How far do they want daughters to study?
5. Families' post-school aspirations for daughters.
6. Are all parents only interested in getting their daughters married?

**Teacher opinions**

1. How far should education be compulsory?
2. Should there be gender parity throughout education?
3. Should girls and boys learn different things at school?
4. Return to education for boys and girls?
5. Should teachers influence girls' aspirations? Do you?
6. Should teachers influence families' aspirations for daughters? Do you?

**Gender**

1. Ever wondered that girls and women may be disadvantaged? In what ways?
2. Would you like it to change? In what ways?
3. What led you to think about these things?

**8.6.2 Phase 5 Terminal teacher interview topics****Background and self-image**

1. Natal and marital family backgrounds.
2. Own aspirations when younger.
3. Any inspirational teachers?
4. Happy with job? Preferences.
5. Attitudes to pupils.

**Religion**

1. Spirituality? Type? Superstitious?
2. Relation of beliefs and everyday practices.
3. Moral sense.
4. A thinker?

**Poverty, financial security and personal motivation**

1. Causes of poverty.
2. Beliefs about professional conduct.
3. Source of personal motivation.

**Caste**

1. Understanding of and attitudes to caste.
2. Government's response to position of Dalit/Adivasis.
3. Reflection on own jati/samaj.
4. Personal interpretation of/reaction to caste discrimination. Consequences?

### **Gender**

1. Opinion of gender order.
2. How did it evolve?
3. Position on women's empowerment.
4. Reflections on women's public-sphere participation.
5. Any organisations working against these discriminations in Nakuur?
6. Personal involvement in such work?
7. Personal reaction to perceived discrimination.
8. Are educated women motivated to improve the lives of poor girls and women?

### **Aspirations for education and pupils**

1. Does education lead to enhanced substantive participation?
2. Should teachers work for development of local community?
3. What employment returns to government schooling?
4. Employment aspirations of boys and girls?

### **The role of teachers and teaching as a job or profession**

1. 'Development dreams' for India?
2. Personal role?
3. Respected and valued by pupils, parents, society?
4. Opportunities for professional creativity.
5. Reactions to absences and truancy.
6. Guidance to pupils.
7. Pupils' attitudes to them?

### **Teaching as a profession, dealing with constraints and making spaces**

1. Challenges facing teachers.
2. Teamwork and co-operation.
3. Indifference.
4. Accountability.
5. Respect within the profession.
6. Days' official work per year. Data work?
7. Extra-curricular activities.
8. Average yearly absences for personal reasons.
9. Hope for government schooling
10. Knowledge of, attitudes to Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan?

### **The role, challenges and possibilities of head teachers (only for head teachers)**

1. Challenges facing head-teachers.
2. Relations with administration? Gendered?
3. Personal challenges, frustrations, balancing acts, victories, achievements.
4. New Parent Teacher Associations.
5. Opinion of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

### **Subject content, teaching style and management of teaching/learning process**

1. Planning, records, marking, homework, questioning style, class management etc.
2. Knowledge of pupils.
3. Strategy for those who *always have* problems understanding?
4. Any notable training helped with such pupils?
5. Opinion of the content of primary education.

### **Eklavya (Bal Vigyanik and Social Science or Khushi-Khushi)**

1. Differences between Eklavya and State curricula. Different teaching styles?
2. Attitudes to 2 programmes.
3. Reasons for closure. Interpretation of government actions.
4. Feelings at closure. Impact on teaching and motivation.

### **Exams and corruption**

1. Organisation of school exams.
2. Thoughts on cheating and bribery.
3. Thoughts on tuition.



**Tuition (only for tuition tutors)**

1. Thoughts on tuition.
2. Personal experience and motivations.
3. Ease of guessing what questions will come.
4. Thoughts on cheating and bribery.

**8.6.3 Standard 5 girls' interview topics****Attendance**

1. Attendance regular?
2. Daily routine. Work, play etc.
3. Siblings and responsibilities.
4. Amount of work at home and consequences.
5. Impact of mothers' exclusion from kitchen etc on attendance and schoolwork?

**Achievement**

1. Subject preferences.
2. Enjoyment of school.
3. Response to teacher presences and absence.
4. Response to teacher questions and approach.
5. Break time activity.
6. Homework.
7. Teachers from Std 1 to Std 5?
8. Repeated any classes? Feelings.
9. Tests and Standard 5 Board exam. Optimistic? Consequences of failure.
10. Tuition. Reasons, teacher approach, benefit.

**Teachers**

1. Characteristics of best teacher throughout school career.
2. Do teachers care about pupils and their futures?
3. Do teachers give guidance on how to think and behave?

**Friendships**

1. Basis of friendships?
2. Attitudes about friendship with boys and opinion about family attitudes.

**Caste**

1. Opinions on caste and caste-related experiences.
2. Teachers' opinion and practice.
3. Influence of caste on friendships?
4. Parents' attitudes about jati?

**8.6.4 Standard 8 girls' interview topics****Gender qualities**

1. Families' idea of ideal daughter and son.
2. Families' idea of the best possible futures for daughter and son.

**Financial issues**

1. Family financial challenges in enabling schooling?
2. Free textbooks? Full set? When? Useful?
3. Scholarship? Does it make much difference?

**Qualifications/Employment**

1. Schooling aspirations' to which level? Reasons.
2. Desire to take up non-labour public-sphere employment post studies.
3. Ideal future, with great marks and no home financial pressure?
4. Benefit from studies other than employment?
5. Self-image and feelings about gaining more education.

**Enrolment/persistence**

1. Family aspirations and reasons.
2. Opinion of families gendered educational aspirations.
3. Attempts to influence parents? Share dreams with them?

**Marriage**

1. Age when family plans to finalise marriage. Girls' opinion of this, age she wants to marry.
2. Feelings about inevitability of marriage and opinion of those who don't marry.
3. Type of family she would like to have as in-laws.
4. Feelings about the prospect of marriage and leaving natal family.
5. Able to tell anyone if she does not like the boy who is selected? Reasons and processes.
6. Opinion about marriage within caste/jati.

**Attendance**

1. Attendance regular?
2. Hours and types of work at home. Affect on schoolwork, tuition, revisions.
3. Impact of mothers' exclusion from kitchen etc on attendance and schoolwork?

**Achievement**

1. Repeated years? Feelings?
2. Optimistic about Standard 8 Board exams?
3. Determination and discipline? What reduces both?
4. Motivation undermined by possibility that in-laws won't allow public-sphere employment?
5. Subjects preferences, classroom behaviour and reasons for it. Enjoyment?
6. Tuition. Reasons, teacher approach, benefit.

**Eklavya**

1. Differences and opinions about Eklavya and State science and social science.
2. Feeling about closure of the programme?
3. Parents feelings about programme closure.
4. Trip to Bhopal and impression of impact.

**Teachers**

1. Characteristics of best teacher throughout school career.
2. Do teachers care about pupils and their futures?
3. Do teachers give guidance on how to think and behave?
4. Do they respect any teachers? For which reasons?

**Friendships**

1. Basis of friendships?
2. Attitudes about friendship with boys and opinion about family attitudes.

**Caste**

1. Opinions on caste and caste-related experiences.
2. Teachers' opinion and practice.
3. Influence of caste on friendships?
4. Family jati attitudes?

**8.6.5 Standard 5 girls' families' interview topics****About families**

1. Family background, employment, education, major decisions, finances.
2. Exposure to media.
3. Reasons for women going out of the home.
4. Women's thoughts on the non-domestic work they do.
5. Attitudes to domestic violence. Response to 'Danik Bhaskar' (newspaper) article about 3 out of 5 wives beaten.
6. Generational differences between mother and daughter/s?

### **About daughter**

1. Opinions of daughters' ability and performance: rank, behaviour, regularity, determination, desire, aspirations.
2. Attendance, marks, interaction – any explanation for any patterns?
3. Schooling aspirations for daughter. Influence of wider family, neighbours?
4. Benefits of education to girls in wider family.
5. Perceived benefits of education for daughters.
6. Public-sector employment?
7. Marriage age? Type of boy? Impact of dowry considerations?
8. Daughter's daily routine? Son's?
9. Who helps with academic problems?
10. Tuition. Reasons, teacher approach, benefit?
11. Opinion of school and teachers? Daughter's opinion of school and teachers.
12. Any children attend private school?
13. Confident that government schooling can improve? What needs to happen?
14. Opinion of new PTA and attitudes towards involvement.

### **8.6.6 Standard 8 girls' families' interview topics**

#### **About families**

1. Family background, employment, education, major decisions, finances.
2. Exposure to media.
3. Reasons for women going out of the home.
4. Women's thought on the non-domestic work they do.
5. Attitudes to domestic violence. Response to Danik Bhaskar article.
6. Generational differences between mother and daughter/s?

#### **About daughters**

1. Opinions of daughters' ability and performance: rank, behaviour, regularity, determination, desire, aspirations?
2. Attendance, marks, interaction – any explanation for any patterns?
3. Any financial incentives from government? Impact?
4. Attitude to tuition.
5. Daughters and son's routines.
6. Academic environment at home, especially for helping with schoolwork?
7. Do families discuss school and teachers with children?
8. Do children share opinions with families?
9. Opinion of school and teachers?
10. Their estimation of girls' opinion of schools and teachers.
11. Opinion on why Sagar gender ratio is good, and that of girls' progression from 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> is twice as good as state average.
12. Reasons for sending some children to private schools.
13. Confidence that government schooling will improve? What needs to happen?
14. Aspirations for daughters and sons' education. Reasons. Community pressures?
15. Most educated girl/woman in extended family/jati group?
16. Which types of people educate their daughters more?
17. Perceived returns to their daughter's education.
18. Reasons for some families' reluctance to educate daughters beyond Standard 5 or 8?
19. Daughter's schooling aspirations?
20. Attitudes to potential of public-sphere employment post school/marriage?
21. Marriage age? Type of boy? Impact of dowry considerations?
22. Will daughter's opinion be asked of the boy?
23. Feelings when a daughter leaves?
24. Opinion of system in cultures where daughters' married nearby, rather than far away.
25. Caste attitudes and interpretations.
26. Should marriage be within jati? Opinions on non-jati marriages.

## Appendix 9: Summary of information in data sets

1	National, state, district and Eklavya documents.	See List 1 below
2	National, state, district, block, town, village statistical data.	See List 2 below
3	School textbooks: MP SCERT and Eklavya	See List 3 below
4 A	Observation data: Ethnographic fieldnotes and reflections  (Over 100,000 words).	Daily log of activities, times and names for 17 months Reflective diary, including records of meetings, trainings and significant conversations. Health and emotional diary. Observation fieldnotes. Reflections on the processes of observations. Reflections on the processes of interviews and home visits. Analytic reflections on research process and progress. See Table 2 below for list of teachers observed and interviewed.
B	Daily structured classroom observations, all lessons videoed	See Tables 4 and 5 for offices and officials. Std 5: 5 lessons - Hindi, Environmental Studies, Maths Std 8: 5 lesson - Science and Maths, 6 lessons - English and Social Science See Table 1 below for textbook sections covered during videoed observation sessions.
	Hours of videoed lesson observations	Phase 1: 6 Phase 2: 4 Phase 3: 16. See List 4 below for DVD contents.
C	Photographs	500
5	Background data  Table 4 lists teachers from 2 schools	2 schools 27 teachers 110 Cohort 3 students 110 Cohort 3 students' families
6	Interviews * This includes teachers beyond the two schools.	45 interviews with 37 teachers* 112 interviews with Cohort 3 students 105 interviews with their families

### 9.1 List 1: National, state, district and Eklavya documents

#### National

(Government of India, 1971; Government of India, 1992a; Government of India, 1992b; Government of India, 1994; Government of India, 2000; Government of India, 2001b; Government of India, 2001c; Government of India, 2002a; Government of India, 2002b; Government of India, 2002c)

#### DPEP

(Government of India, 1997; EdCIL, 1998c; EdCIL, 1998b; EdCIL, 1998d; EdCIL, 1998a; EdCIL, 1999a; EdCIL, 1999b; EdCIL, 2000; Aggrawal, 2001; EdCIL, 2001; Joint Review Mission, 2001)

#### Madhya Pradesh

(Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1995; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1996; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998b; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1999a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1999b; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000b; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2000c; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002d; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002e; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002g; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2003a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2003b)

**Nakuur**

(Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2001; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002b).

**Eklavya**

(Eklavya, 1985; Agnihotri et al., 1994; Eklavya, 1997; Eklavya, 1999; Eklavya, 200a; Eklavya, 2001b; Eklavya, 2002a; Mahendroo and Noronha, 2002).

**Eklavya and Government of Madhya Pradesh**

(Kothari, Sherry Chand, and Sharma, 2000; Eklavya, 2002b; Gopalakrishnan, 2002; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002f; Raina, 2002a; Raina, 2002b).

**9.2 List 2: National, state, district, town, village statistical data****National**

(Shariff, 1999; IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000; Government of India, 2001a; Government of India, 2002c).

**Madhya Pradesh**

(Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1998a; IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001; Prabhakar Bansod Director of Census Operations, 2001; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002c; Shariff, 2002).

**Nakuur**

(Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2001; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002b).

**9.3 List 3: MP SCERT and Eklavya textbooks and study guides****Standard 5: Madhya Pradesh Textbook Corporation**

Hindi, 2001

Maths, 2001

Environmental Studies (EVS), 2001

English Reader, English Reader Special Series, 2002

**Eklavya**

Khushi-Khushi 5.1 Language, 2000

Khushi-Khushi 5.2 Maths, 2000

Khushi-Khushi 5.3 Environmental Studies, 2000

**Board Exam Study Guides**

Saphalta Ka Sadhan (Hindi, Maths, EVS, English), 2003 Malhotra Book Depot

**Standard 8: Madhya Pradesh Textbook Corporation**

Hindi, 2001. Maths, 2001. Science, 2002.

Social Science: History (Modern India), 2001

Social Science: Geography (Lands and People), 2001

Social Science: Civics (Our Country Today: Problems and Challenges) 2001

English Reader, 2000.

Sanskrit (not used).

**Eklavya**

Science (Bal Vaigyanik) 2000

Social Science (Computer printout, currently being republished)

**Board Exam Study Guides**

Saphalta Ka Sadhan (English, Maths, Social Science, Science, Sanskrit), 2003 Malhotra Book Depot

Maths Prashnabodh Key questions and answers, 2003 BNB Publications

Science Prashnabodh (As above)

Social Science Prashnabodh (As above)

English Prashnabodh (As above)

9.4 Table 1: Text-books sections for observations sessions

Subject	Chapters covered, titles and page numbers	Pages covered during videoed observations
Std 5 Hindi	Ch 9: 43-49 Ch 10: 50-55 Ch 11: 56-58 Ch 12: 59-61	Ch 9: 43-49 Ch 10: 50-55 Ch 11: 56-58 Ch 12: 59-61
Std 5 Maths	Ch 9: Length, Weight and Capacity. 95-108	Ch 9, pages 99-106
Std 5 Environmental Studies	Ch 11: Some Attractive Things of our Country. 68-82 Ch 9: Different works and their workers. 54-56	Ch 11, pages 68 to 82. Ch 9, page 56.
Std 8 Maths	Ch 11 Chords of a Circle. 58-64 Ch 7:1 Compound Interest. 35-40	Ch 11 page 62. Ch 7, Part 1, pages 35-38
Std 8 Science	Ch 10: Microbial World 72-85 Ch 11: Agriculture, Practices and Instruments. 86-95	Ch 10, pages 79 to 85. Ch 11, pages 86 and 87.
Std 8 Social Science	Ch 6: Religious and Social Reform Movements and Cultural Awakening 51-64	Ch 6, Pages 51 to 60.
Std 8 English	Ch 17: The Merchant's Watchmen. 44-45 Ch 18: Simple, Sir Arthur, Simple 46-48	Ch 17, pages 44 to 45. Ch 18, pages 46 to 48

9.5 Table 2: Observations and interviews per teacher

Women				Men			
Observations	O	Interviews	I	Observations	O	Interviews	I
<b>Primary</b>				<b>Primary</b>			
Uma Badhai	2		0	Ramesh Ahiwar	1	Ramesh Ahiwar	2
Sarita Dharey	3	Sarita Dharey	1	Rakesh Chaturvedi	4	Rakesh Chaturvedi	3
Kalyani Gadri	1		0	Mahendre Choudry	1	Mahendre Choudry	2
Minakshi Kajwey	3	Minakshi Kajwey	1	Ajit Daley	0		0
Rajni Makvey	3		0	Rahul Mani	2		0
Sujata Nuikey	2	Sujata Nuikey	1	Ritesh Kajley	1	Ritesh Kajley	2
Shalini Sharma	2		0	Mohamed Khan	1		0
Tamana Shukla	2		0	Deepak Patodia	31	Deepak Patodia	5
Mohini Singh	7	Mohini Singh	3	Raju Sisodia	3		0
Anu Uikey	4	Anu Uikey	3	Vinay Sharma	1	Vinay Sharma	2
Kusu Upadhyay	1		0	Sanjay Varma	1		0
		Prema Goyal	1	Mukesh Verma	2	Mukesh Verma	1
<b>Middle</b>				<b>Middle</b>			
Seema Dakhley	8	Seema Dhakley	2	Shailesh Chaubey	2		0
Meena Mishra	2	Meena Mishra	1	Santosh Pandey	24	Santosh Pandey	2
Sunita Madri	2			Mr ML Patel	1	Mr ML Patel	1
Rounak Tiwari	23	Rounak Tiwari	6	Chetan Pawar	1	Chetan Pawar	1
		Mira Ahuja	1	Durgesh Sankherey	5		
		Divya Dubey	1				
		Sunita Dugayan	1				
				<b>Tuition</b>			
				Sanni Kevat	3	Sanni Kevat	2
				Lalit Varma	6	Lalit Varma	2

## 9.6 List 4: DVD contents

### Phase 1 Pilot

1. Rounak Tiwari – Standard 6, Social Science, Standard 8 English - 7<sup>th</sup> March 2001.

### Phase 2

2. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia – Maths - 28<sup>th</sup> January 2002.
3. Standard 8, Santosh Pandey – Social Science 31<sup>st</sup> January 2002. Rounak Tiwari - Science: Pendulums (class work and practical) plus shots of Santosh Pandey - Science: Water Pressure practical with Standard 7. 31<sup>st</sup> January and 2<sup>nd</sup> February. (1 of 2).
4. Rounak Tiwari – Science: Pendulums (class work and practical) – plus bits of Santosh Pandey Science: Water Pressure practical with Standard 7. 2<sup>nd</sup> February (2 of 2).

### Both phases

5. Standard 5 introductions from both years.
6. Standard 8 introductions from both years.
7. Footage of house, town, route to Sagar School and village and both end-of-research parties.
8. Continuation of tape 7: Sagar Tuition end-of-research party.

### Phase 3

9. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia, Maths Observation 1. From 9.12.02 to 11.12.02.
10. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia, Maths Observation 2. From 16.12.02 to 17.12.02.
11. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia, Hindi Observation 1. From 9.12.02 to 12.12.02.
12. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia, Hindi Observation 2. From 12.12.02 to 17.12.02.
13. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia, EVS Observation 1. From 10.12.02 to 16.12.02.
14. Standard 5, Deepak Patodia, EVS Observation 2. From 16.12.02 to 17.12.02.
15. Standard 8, Santosh Pandey, Maths Observation 1. From 17.1.03 to 21.1.03.
16. Standard 8, Santosh Pandey, Maths Observation 2. From 22.1.03 to 23.1.03.
17. Standard 8, Santosh Pandey, Science Observation 1. From 16.1.03 to 21.1.03.
18. Standard 8, Santosh Pandey, Science Observation 2. From 21.1.03 to 23.1.03.
19. Standard 8, S Dhakley, Social Science Observation 1. From 16.1.03 to 18.1.03.
20. Standard 8, S Dhakley, Social Science Observation 2. From 20.1.03 to 22.1.03.
21. Standard 8, Rounak Tiwari, English Observation 1. From 17.1.03 to 20.1.03.
22. Standard 8, Rounak Tiwari, English Observation 2. From 20.1.03 to 23.1.03.
23. Standard 8, 26<sup>th</sup> January Presentation Assembly (not held on 26<sup>th</sup> January!)

## 9.7 Image: DVD box set - 23 DVDs



9.8 Table 3: Teachers

'Disengaged'		'Constrained'		'Engaged'		
8 men: 6 Vidya 2 Sagar		8 women: all Vidya		4 men (1:V 1:S 2:T) 4 women (2:V 2:S)		
<i>Rakesh Chaturvedi</i>	M H	<i>Sarita Dharey</i>	F V	<i>Deepak Patodia</i>	M V	Std 5 FC
<i>Ramesh Abiwar</i>	M AHT-V	<i>Minakshi Kajwey</i>	F V	<i>Sanni Kevat</i>	M T:V	Std 5 FC
M. Khan	M HT-V	Kusu Upadhyay	F V	<i>Anu Urikey</i>	F V	
Raju Sisodia	M V	Uma Badhai	F V	<i>Mohini Singh</i>	F V	
Ajit Daley	M V	Shalini Sharma	F V	<i>Santosh Pandey</i>	M AHT-S	Std 8 FC
Rahul Mani	M V	Tamana Shukla	F V	<i>Rounak Tiwari</i>	F S	Std 8 FC
Shailesh Chaubey	M S	Rajni Makvey	F V	<i>Seema Dhakley</i>	F S	Std 8 FC
Durgesh Sankarey	M HT-S	Kalyani Gadri	F V	<i>Lalit Varma</i>	M T:S	Std 8 FC

9.9 Table 4: Offices/departments visited

<b>Bhopal</b> RGSM HQ Madhya Pradesh Textbook Corporation Census Office Survey of India Office Government Central Press	<b>Nakuur</b> Office of the Superintendent of Police Nakuur Tehsil Office District Education Office (DEO) 3 Block Education Offices (BEO) SSA Office
<b>Nakuur</b> Collectorate Nakuur District Statistical Office Nakuur Map Office Zilla Panchayat (District Council) Janpad Panchayat (Block Council) Nagar Palika (Municipal Council)	Department of Women and Child Development Department of Tribal Welfare Irrigation Department Government Central Bank Government Railways Department DIET in neighbouring district (as none in Nakuur) Various NGOs and charities

9.10 Table 5: Most involved Nakuur education officials

Name	Sex	Position	Caste
Mr P Parasar	M	DEO 1	Brahmin
Mr K Thakur	M	DEO 2	SC
Mr M Varma	M	DEO 3	SC/ST
Mr S Dubey	M	DEO Mahila Padhna Badhna	Brahmin
Mr CP Khorey	M	Nakuur BEO	OBC
Mr B Singh	M	Neighbouring BEO	OBC
Mr RS Singhai	M	Neighbouring BEO	Others/Jain
Mr ML Saran	M	SSA Co-ordinator	OBC/Kurmi
Ms R Chaturvedi	F	DEO Statistical Officer	Brahmin
Mr ML Joshi	M	Nakuur BEO officer	Brahmin
Mrs P Dwivedi	F	Nakuur BEO Officer	Brahmin



## Appendix 10: Interview codes and coding tables

### 10.1 Initial codes from first reading, and recoding of a selection

#### Teacher's interviews

1. Automats
2. Curriculum
3. Quality
4. Official Hypocrisy
5. Policies
6. Training
7. Practice
8. Responsibility
9. Visions

#### Girls' interviews

1. Determination
2. Virtue
3. Non-Questioning
4. Success
5. Infrastructure
6. Teacher regularity
7. Teacher concern
8. Teacher Fairness
9. Curriculum
10. Teaching Quality
11. Explanations
12. Punishment
13. Homework and marking
14. Questioning style
15. Use of Guide
16. Exams
17. Tuition
18. Advice and Role Models

#### Families' interviews

1. Quality
2. For daughters
3. Inarticulate benefit
4. Interaction with State representatives
5. Offspring
6. Sasural
7. Visions

### 10.2 Recoding for 'Value of Education' (6 teachers, all girls' families and girls)

1. Positional
2. Intrinsic~Own Space
3. Intrinsic~Mastery
4. Instrumental~Better Life
5. Instrumental~Better Marriage
6. Instrumental~Better Life in Marriage
7. Instrumental~Delaying Marriage
8. Instrumental~Public Sphere Employment
9. Instrumental~More Consulted

10.3 Table 1: All Teachers – Coding Table 1

	Document	Practice	Visions	Responsibility	Official Hypocrisy	Curriculum	Automats	Quality	Training	Policies
1	T1 Rounak Tiwari	27	15	4	3	6	5	1	3	3
2	T2 01 Rounak Tiwari	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	4	0
3	T2 02 Anu Uikey	7	2	2	0	2	0	0	2	1
4	T2 03 Deepak Patodia	7	0	2	0	2	0	1	2	0
5	T2 04 Mohini Singh	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
6	T2 05 Sarita Dharey	5	2	0	0	1	2	1	1	0
7	T2 06 Meenakshi Kajwey	5	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
	T2 07 Rakesh Not taped	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	T2 08 Rakesh Chaturvedi	10	5	1	0	6	4	1	3	1
9	T2 09 Deepak Patodia	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	T2 10 Deepak Patodia	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
11	T2 11 Rounak Tiwari	2	8	7	0	1	0	0	0	0
12	T2 12 Rounak Tiwari	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
13	T2 13 Sunita Dugayan	1	12	3	1	0	1	0	1	0
14	T2 14 Divya Dubey	0	12	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
15	T2 15 Chetan Pawar	1	7	3	0	1	0	0	1	0
16	T2 16 Mira Ahuja	1	6	4	0	0	0	2	2	0
17	T3 01 Mahendra Chowdhary	12	9	18	3	0	1	3	1	1
18	T3 02 Vinay Sharma	16	12	18	4	5	2	1	0	0
19	T3 03 Sanni Kewat	14	7	10	2	0	0	1	0	0
20	T3 04 Deepak Patodia	15	20	21	6	3	6	4	0	2
21	T3 05 Ritesh Kajley	13	11	13	1	0	0	0	0	2
22	T3 06 Santosh Pandey	15	16	14	5	10	3	2	0	2
23	T3 07 Mohini Singh	27	18	20	8	5	3	0	0	2
24	T3 08 Seema Dhakley	9	23	23	3	1	2	4	0	1
25	T3 09 Lalit Verma	33	22	18	6	4	0	0	0	0
26	T3 10 Mahendra Chowdhary	18	1	5	13	7	1	2	1	2
27	T3 11 Anu Uike	22	14	12	6	2	2	0	1	0
28	T3 12 Rounak Tiwari	25	25	16	5	16	2	1	3	2
29	T3 13 Rakesh Chaturvedi	17	14	16	9	3	5	2	2	0
30	T3 14 Ramesh Ahiwar	26	10	21	13	0	4	6	0	12
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>
	<b>Rank of response</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>

10.4 Table 2: Cohort 3 Girls – Coding Table 1 (See next page for key to themes)

Abbreviation for theme	D	C	NQ	TQ	V	T	TR	TC	QS	E1	S	HM	E2	TF	AR	P	G	I
1 SP English	0	4	0	7	0	3	3	1	4	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	0
2 SP Tuition	2	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
3 SP Dates	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4 SP Syllabus	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 SP Eklavya	0	10	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 SP Science	0	14	0	3	1	2	3	2	3	3	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
7 SP Social Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8 SP Maths	0	4	0	4	0	4	2	1	4	2	0	3	1	2	1	2	1	0
<b>Focus totals</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
1 VP01 Sunanda Prasad	1	0	0	1	2	3	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
2 VP02 Priya Gehlot	2	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
3 VP03 Shobha Gehlot	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
4 VP04 Reena Singh	3	0	1	2	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0
5 VP05 Aruna Kaithwas	2	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
6 VP07 Ananya Kaithwas	5	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
7 VP08 Ananya Nuikey	1	0	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
8 VP09 Sujata Saini	0	0	3	2	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 VP10 Bina Phurvi	3	0	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
10 VP11 Suman Gehlot	4	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11 VP13 Rewa Prasad	5	1	6	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
12 VP14 Rashmi Dohar	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 VP15 Parul Kaithwas	6	1	2	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 VP16 Aradhna Uikay	0	0	2	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 VP17 Anu Khan	0	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
16 VP18 Kamini Kalsi	2	1	6	2	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
17 VP19 Kanchan Kaithwas	2	2	4	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
18 VP20 Rani Kaithwas	6	1	1	2	1	3	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
19 VP21 Sudha Kaithwas	4	0	2	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 VP22 Damini Chandel	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Standard 5 totals</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
1 SP01 Saroj Sahu	5	2	4	2	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2 SP02 Lajwanti Sahu	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 SP03 Jagruti Sahu	2	3	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4 SP04 Chitra Sahu	3	6	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 SP05 Pratima Singh	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 SP06 Kanchan Gourey	8	5	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
7 SP07 Alka Khorey	3	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8 SP08 Usha Chhalotrey	2	4	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 SP09 Lekha Sutar	2	4	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 SP10 Anamika Khorey	5	3	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
11 SP11 Madhuri Sarvan	3	4	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12 SP12 Sharmila Khorey	7	4	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 SP14 Meena Sahu	6	2	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 SP15 Rakhi Khorey	5	5	4	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 SP16 Lajwanti Chaudri	8	6	6	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16 SP17 Leela Rehlot	5	2	3	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
17 SP18 Damini Sutar	5	5	3	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
18 SP19 Kanchan Banwar	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19 SP20 Bali Singh	9	3	5	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Standard 8 totals</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Std 5 & 8 totals	141	105	93	70	52	43	43	33	30	29	23	21	14	11	10	9	3	1
<b>Rank of Response</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>

VP – Vidya Pupil, SP – Sagar Pupil

### Key to themes in pupils' responses

Theme rank	Abbreviation	Full form
1	D	Determination
2	C	Curriculum
3	NQ	Non-Questioning
4	TQ	Teaching Quality
5	V	Virtue
6	TR	Teacher Regularity
6	T	Tuition
7	TC	Teacher Concern
8	QS	Questioning Style
9	E1	Exams
10	S	Success
11	HM	Homework and Marking
12	E2	Explanations
13	TF	Teacher Fairness
14	AR	Advice and Role Models
15	P	Punishment
16	G	Use of Guide
17	I	Infrastructure

10.5 Table 3: Cohort 3 Girls' Families – Coding Table 1

		Visions	For daughters	Quality Interaction with State reps	Inarticulate benefit	Sasural	Offspring
1	VF01 Rewa and Sunanda Prasad	12	2	2	0	2	0
2	VF02 Reena Singh	5	1	2	0	3	1
3	VF03 Shobha Gehlot	4	3	10	0	1	1
4	VF04 Aradhna Uikey	5	3	7	2	0	1
5	VF05 Ananya Nuikey	6	6	4	0	4	1
6	VF06 Seema Rani Kanchan	11	6	4	0	0	2
7	VF07 Rashmi and Arun Dohar	4	4	3	1	0	0
8	VF08 Anu Khan	9	3	9	5	2	1
9	VF09 Kamini Kalsi	7	3	4	2	1	1
10	VF10 Sujata Khorey	7	5	1	5	4	1
11	VF11 Suman and Ram Gehlot	4	1	1	2	1	1
12	VF12 Bina Phurvi	8	5	3	3	3	3
13	VF13 Aruna Kaithwas	4	9	5	2	2	1
14	VF14 Damini and Malik Chandel	2	1	2	0	1	0
15	VF15 Ananya Kaithwas	3	2	5	4	1	1
16	VF33 Parul Kaithwas	4	2	4	2	1	0
17	VF34 Sujata Saini	1	2	5	3	0	0
18	VF38 Priya Gehlot	1	2	1	1	0	0
19	VF39 Damini and Ravi Gehlot	5	2	1	3	1	0
	<b>Std 5 Totals</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>15</b>
1	SF01 Saroj Sahu	20	4	2	1	0	4
2	SF02 Jagruti Sahu	13	3	0	1	3	1
3	SF03 Madhuri Sarvan	8	2	4	0	0	1
4	SF04 Leela Rehlot	7	1	1	1	1	1
5	SF05 Lajwanti Chaudri	10	3	1	0	0	0
6	SF06 Kanchan Gourey	9	4	0	1	0	2
7	SF07 Alka and Prem Khorey	12	1	2	0	0	0
8	SF08 Usha Chhalotrey	13	3	2	0	0	0
9	SF09 Anamika Khorey	16	5	3	0	1	0
10	SF10 Lajwanti Sahu	11	5	8	4	0	0
11	SF11 Kanchan Banwar	5	1	0	0	0	0
12	SF12 Bali Singh	7	1	3	1	0	0
13	SF13 Meena Sahu	10	6	1	1	1	0
14	SF14 Rakhi Khorey	14	6	1	1	0	3
15	SF15 Aruna Chhalotrey	6	3	7	0	1	0
16	SF16 Pratima Singh	12	8	1	0	0	0
17	SF17 Lekha Sutar	2	0	0	3	0	0
18	SF18 Chitra Sahu Half	5	3	5	2	0	2
19	SF19 Sharmila Khorey	6	7	4	2	0	4
	<b>Std 8 Totals</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>
	<b>Std 5 &amp; 8 totals</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>33</b>
	<b>Rank of response</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

VF – Vidya Family, SF – Sagar Family

10.6 Table 4: 6 Teachers – Coding Table 2

Document	1 Positional	3 INT Mastery	2 INT Own Space	4 INS Better Life	8 INS Private Sphere Empty	6 INS Better Life in Marriage	5 INS Better Marriage	7 INS Delaying Marriage	9 INS More Consulted
All Rounak Tiwari	27	8	8	10	5	3	0	0	0
All Deepak Patodia	17	7	5	6	7	0	0	0	0
T3 06 Santosh Pandey	19	8	6	3	7	0	0	0	0
T3 08 Seema Dhakley	12	3	2	2	1	2	1	0	0
T3 09 Lalit Verma	23	15	14	9	4	0	0	0	0
T3 03 Sanni Kewat	11	3	6	2	3	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Rank of Response</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>		

10.7 Table 5: Cohort 3 Girls – Coding Table 2

Document	8 INS Public-Sphere Employment	2 INT Own Space	4 INS Better Life	1 Positional/equality	6 INS Better Life in Marriage	3 INT Mastery	5 INS Better Marriage	7 INS Delaying Marriage	9 INS More Consulted
VP01 Sunanda Prasad	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
VP02 Priya Gehlot	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP03 Shobha Gehlot	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
VP04 Reena Singh	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
VP05 Aruna Kaithwas	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP07 Ananya Kaithwas	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
VP08 Ananya Nuikey	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP09 Sujata Saini	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP10 Bina Phurvi	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP11 Suman Gehlot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP13 Rewa Prasad	0	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
VP14 Rashmi Dohar	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP15 Parul Kaithwas	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP16 Aradhna Uikey	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP17 Anu Khan	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP18 Kamini Kalsi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP19 Kanchan Kaithwas	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP20 Rani Kaithwas	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP21 Sudha Kaithwas	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VP22 Damini Chandel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SP01 Saroj Sahu	2	1	3	2	1	1	0	0	0
SP02 Lajwanti Sahu	2	2	1	3	1	2	0	0	0
SP03 Jagruti Sahu	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
SP04 Chitra Sahu	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
SP05 Pratima Singh	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
SP06 Kanchan Gourey	1	1	2	5	1	2	0	0	0
SP07 Alka Khorey	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
SP08 Usha Chhalotrey	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
SP09 Lekha Sutar	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
SP10 Anamika Khorey	3	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
SP11 Madhuri Sarvan	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
SP12 Sharmila Khorey	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
SP14 Meena Sahu	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
SP15 Rakhi Khorey	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
SP16 Lajwanti Chaudri	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SP17 Leela Rehlot	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
SP18 Damini Sutar	2	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
SP19 Kanchan Banwar	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
SP20 Bali Singh	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Rank of Response</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>			

10.8 Table 6: Cohort 3 Girls' Families – Coding Table 2

Document	4 INS Better Life	5 INS Better Marriage	8 INS Public Sphere Empty	6 INS Better Life in Marriage	1 Positional	7 INS Delaying Marriage	9 INS More Consulted	2 INT Own Space	3 INT Mastery
VF01 Rewa and Sunanda Prasad	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF02 Reena Singh	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF03 Shobha Karodley	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF04 Aradhna Uikey	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF05 Ananya Nuikey	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
VF06 Sudha Rani Kanchan	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
VF07 Rashmi and Arun Dohar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF08 Anu Khan	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF09 Kamini Kalsi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF10 Sujata Khorey	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
VF11 Suman and Ram Gehlot	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
VF12 Bina Phurvi	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF13 Aruna Kaithwas	2	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
VF14 Damini and Malik Chandel	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
VF15 Ananya Kaithwas	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
VF33 Parul Kaithwas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF34 Sujata Saini	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF38 Priya Gehlot	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
VF39 Damini and Ravi Gehlot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF01 Saroj Sahu	3	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
SF02 Jagruti Sahu	3	1	1	4	1	0	0	0	0
SF03 Madhuri Sarvan	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
SF04 Leela Rehlot	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF05 Lajwanti Chaudri	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF06 Kanchan Gourey	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF07 Alka and Prem Khorey	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF08 Usha Chhalotrey	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
SF09 Anamika Khorey	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
SF10 Lajwanti Sahu	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
SF11 Kanchan Banwar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF12 Bali Singh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF13 Meena Sahu	5	1	1	3	1	2	1	0	0
SF14 Rakhi Khorey	3	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
SF15 Aruna Chhalotrey	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
SF16 Pratima Singh	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
SF17 Lekha Sutar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SF18 Chitra Sahu Half	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
SF19 Sharmila Khorey	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Rank of Response</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>		



## Appendix 11: Field assistants and research visa

### 11.1 Paragraph 1: female field assistants

The search for a female field assistant heightened my awareness of the professional impact of Nakuur's classed gender regimes. After initial difficulty finding a woman with sufficient English proficiency, those who I found (in their early twenties, married and single) felt, given the very 'exploratory' nature of the work, that their families/in-laws would not allow them to work with me. When I did find women willing to help, they were unable to do so consistently. Perhaps the lack of opportunities for women in any career structure that might exist in small town such as Nakuur meant this experience might not reward them in the way it would a man. I was also a very 'part-time prospect', so there was little incentive for a woman to risk domestic equilibrium. The timings of school and the sun-set also caused difficulties. Local teachers were willing to be interviewed after returning from school at 6 p.m., but this meant that interviews would finish after dusk, causing a problem for the young women who should not be out alone then. The fact that we may have been in the homes of strangers (from other communities) caused considerable discomfort to families, and even to some of the women. No such problems arose with the village teachers, as the women assistants felt unable to travel to the villages: teachers had to come to town.

Problems of capability also surfaced: whilst many of the young men were resourceful and capable across many domains, many young women, however, only had superficial knowledge of the geography of the town that they had rarely left. Some women commented that I knew Nakuur, the shops, the places to get things done, the shortcuts, the colonies etc. as well as, if not better, than them. In addition, whilst many men were highly computer literate, the women had very basic, if any, computer skills, and most were unable to acquire them. Their parents were discouraged not only by the high cost, but also by the necessity of them studying alongside 'boys' in the unsupervised environments of the many private computer centres appearing all over India.

The final major hurdle was one of attitudes: these young, educated middle class women were deeply entrenched in the patriarchal attitudes in which they had grown up. Many women were positioned in contradictory ways vis-à-vis awareness of their own situation as women in a patriarchal environment, but the younger, middle class women with whom I both worked and interacted seemed the least reflective about their subordinate positions. They reinforced the social norms that subjected women through the importance they assigned to beauty, femininity and adherence to appropriate female roles. They did not like to see themselves as 'needy' or oppressed in any way: the children in government schools and their mothers were the 'oppressed and needy'. These young women saw themselves as so different to the girls in both schools.

### 11.2 Paragraph 2: obtaining the research visa

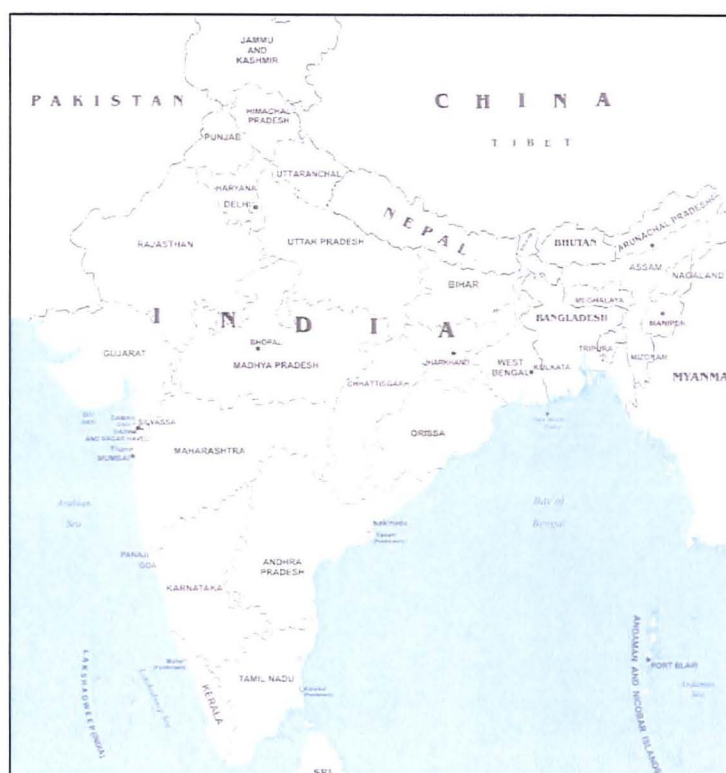
I had, in October 2000, written both to the India High Commission in London and to the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) in Delhi, asking what I should do to obtain the correct visa. I asked these questions again in February 2001, but only found out the actual requirements through a chance discussion with a friend at the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in the last week of May 2001.

Having obtained field-level access I needed to obtain all the necessary permissions to conduct my research in India. In order to proceed, I needed to be affiliated to an institute of higher education. Having spent a long time developing the proposal with members of Delhi University, I was able to get the support of the Head of the Department of Education. The process still took a long time, however, compounded by loss of signed documents in the post, heavy monsoon rains and consequentially erratic telephone networks.

Once I had obtained the affiliation and submitted it along with my research outline, planned itinerary, CV and application form, I needed an official letter from the Madhya Pradesh government, before the application process could begin. The RGSM Director processed this letter quickly, and, three days before my departure, I had all necessary stamps to apply for the visa so the application could proceed to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of External Affairs. This process takes a minimum of 3 months before the India High Commission in London is instructed to grant my visa: in my case, thanks to a particularly helpful and supportive bureaucrat in the MHRD University Section, mine only took three months, and was processed by the week prior to my planned return to the field in October 2001).

## Appendix 12: Maps

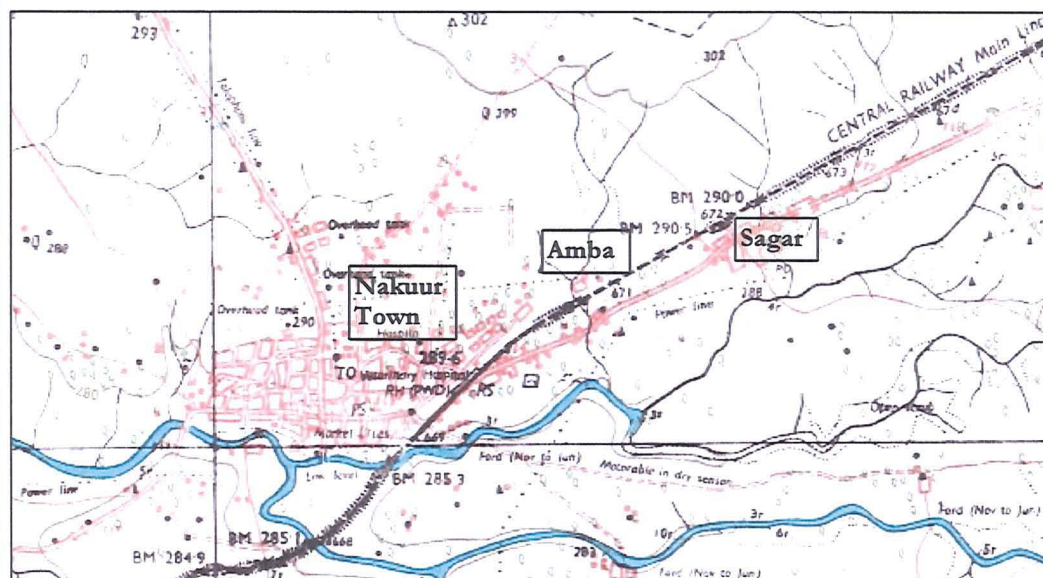
### 12.1 India showing state divisions



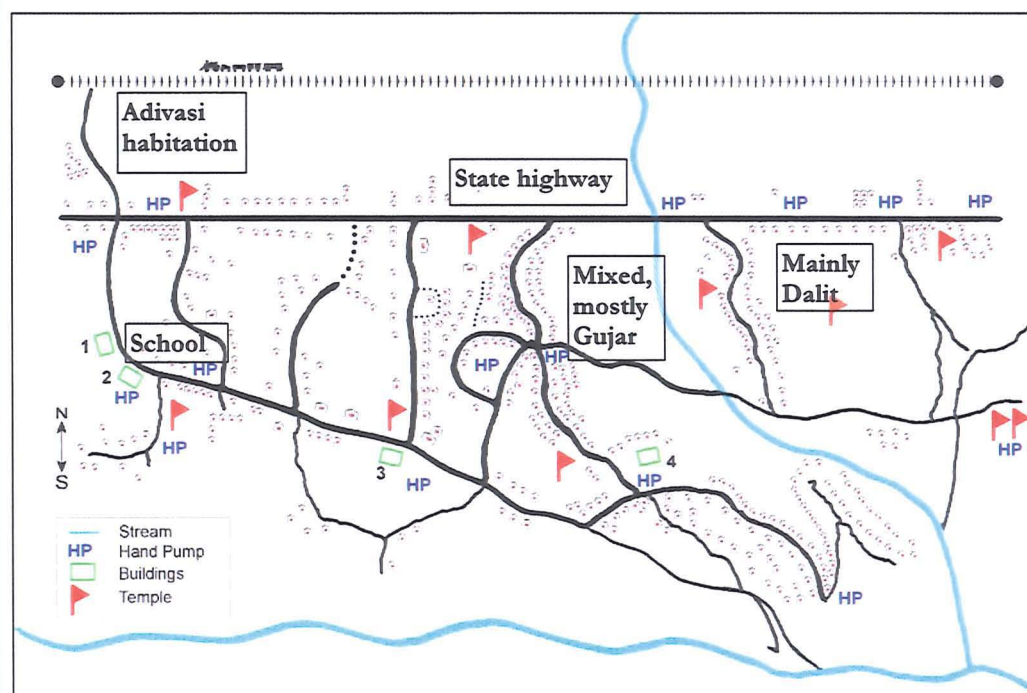
### 12.2 Madhya Pradesh showing district divisions



### 12.3 Route map from Nakuur town to Sagar village: circa 1950?



#### 12.4 Sketch Map of Sagar village: 2002

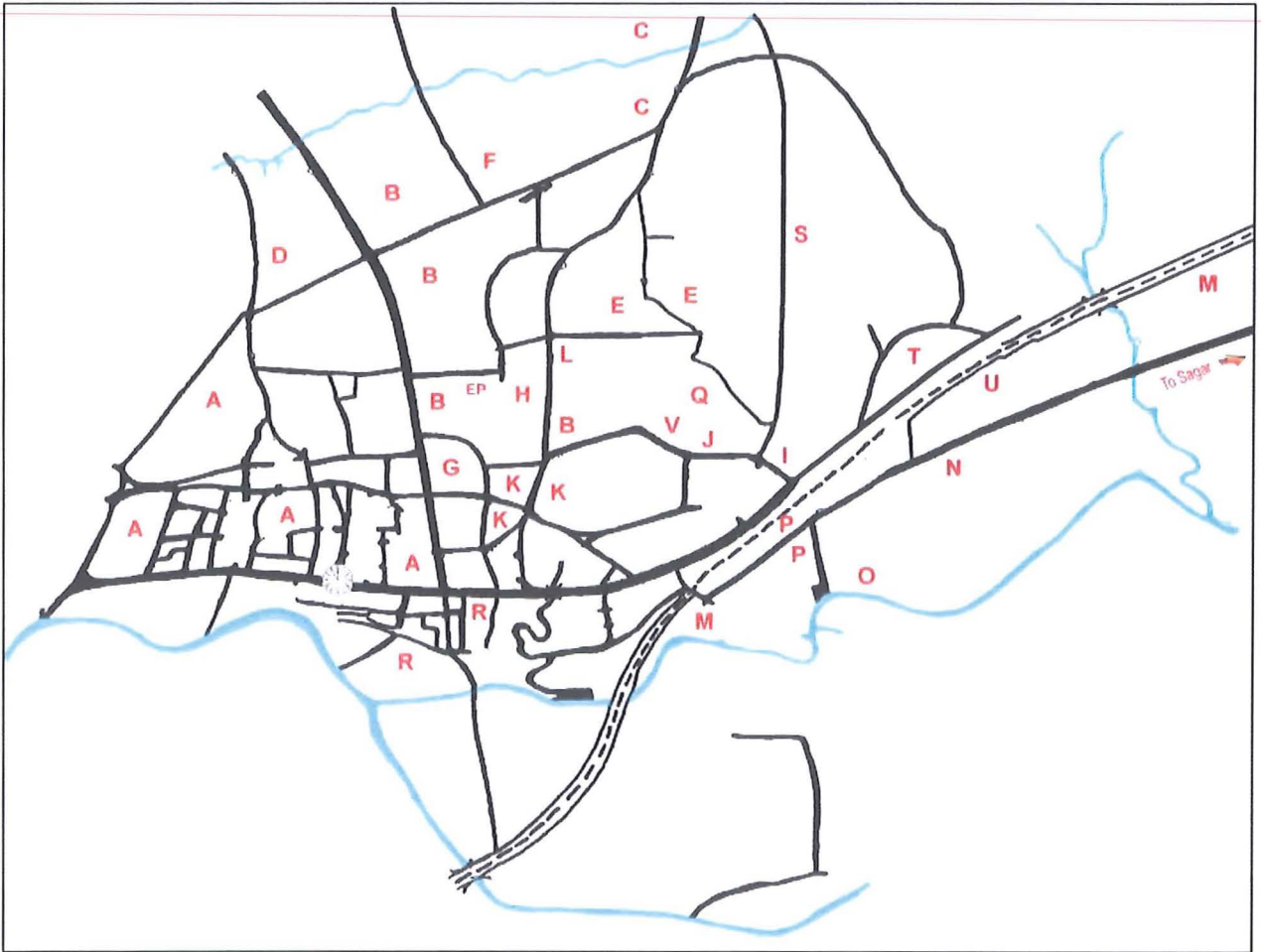


### Key

1. Gram Panchayat building (Village Council)
2. Government School
3. Private School and Tuition
4. Anganwadi (Early Years' Centre)

**Key to town plan**

- A Old town and market
- B Middle class colonies (neighbourhoods)
- C Unregistered slum-like developments
- D Sanctioned m/c residential developments
- E Unsanctioned, mixed, mostly m/c colonies
- F New administrative buildings
- G Central vegetable and fruit market
- H Government hospital
- I Railway station
- J Bus station
- K Existing admin offices, police, courts
- L SSA and DEO offices
- M Dalit colonies
- N Muslim colonies
- O Bengali colonies
- P Migrant artisans
- Q Sikh metal-working neighbourhood
- R Established Muslim and Dalit colonies
- EP My house
- V Vidya School



### Appendix 13: Nakuur and Sagar descriptions

A river and a railway formed the south border of Nakuur town, a road arched northerly 6 km from the west to east, with the original high street leading north from the old Clock Tower differentiating west from east. The old town and market (with colonial underground drainage) were in the south and west of the present town, left of the clock tower and high street (A). Here commercial, civil and religious buildings and grand family homes flanked both broad and maze-like streets, increasingly hemmed in by a sprawling expansion of low-budget, un-serviced accommodation. Whilst many trading and higher caste families continued to live in the old town, middle class colonies expanded east and north of the clock tower (B). Unregistered, slum-like developments (C) limited opportunities for middle class spread to the north east: sanctioned development continued into the north west (D) whilst, despite civil and legal battles, unserviced, unsanctioned colonies also grew in the commercial area to the east (E).

The town's 1998 conversion from a block to a district headquarters increased Nakuur's political and administrative profile and investments in image and infrastructure: it was experiencing considerable expansion and modernisation - of physical, market, political and institutional infrastructures. The most prominent developments were new administrative buildings in the centre and to the north (F), housing for government officers in the north-west (D) and various road improvement projects. Much of the commercial development was private enterprise, funded by an affluent minority who had benefited from fertile land, a developed (tawa) canal network and the increasing post-1991 liberalisation of the Indian economy. (The Adivasi area to the south of the district was, however, hilly and barren, and therefore neither fertile nor served by the tawa canals). The major residential expansion was also privately funded and profit-based. The west (A and D) bustled with commercial activity, with an increasing profile of service industries (notably computer centres), luxury goods, private medical centres and beauty parlours alongside essential commodities. The daily vegetable market lay at the centre (G), next to the government hospital (H). The eastern industrial area housed the mandi (grain exchange - E) and associated enterprises. Private educational institutions, the biggest growth industry, most recognisable in middle class areas (A, B and D), were actually appearing everywhere. Vidya School (V) was on the busier of two routes linking the railway (I) and bus stations (J) to commercial and administrative centres. Existing administrative offices, the police and the courts were nearby (K), and temporary DEO and SSA offices within one kilometre (L). As Nakuur was a new district, there was no DIET (District Institute of Education and Training).

In contrast to official claims that all 30 town wards reflected a social mix, areas were dominated by particular accommodation styles, ranging from tents of plastic and fabric scraps to multi-storied residences with marbled drives and swirling colonnades. In some places, buildings of all shapes, sizes and facilities did jostle up against each another, as any free space was incorporated into legal or illegal development. Urban educational and employment opportunities, combined with reservation policies were also slowly interrupting caste-based residential trends, but most areas were associated with certain groups, and ranked on a scale of safety and desirability. Large colonies associated with Dalits (M), Muslims (N), Bengalis (O) and migrant artisans of various trades (P) flanked the state highway that led east, past Sagar. Some of these communities, (in common with metal-working Sikhs (Q) behind the bus station but unlike areas settled by Muslims and Dalits to the south side of the old town-R), were regularly essentialised as 'other': unsafe and lawless. To middle-class (mainly Hindu) communities, the railway formed the southern border and those living beyond were not considered part of 'Nakuur proper'.

At 5 km, Sagar was within walking distance of the town. It had a few sparse provision stores, a roadside mechanic, a paan stall in a makeshift bus stop and vegetables sold from private homes. Buses thundered through the village at regular intervals as its main street was one of the two state highways that crossed Nakuur, but few stopped on the way *into* town. Women's transport options were limited and as any journey into town necessitated passing Amba (see below for relevance), few women, labouring or otherwise, travelled regularly to Nakuur. Individuals from non land-owning families sought daily-waged labour in others' fields or Nakuur. A few families engaged in traditional caste occupations. Some chose to, notably the Vishwakarma carpenters from Rajasthan, who apprenticed their children into the trade. Others were forced to, mainly those from sweeper and tanner jatis, unable to secure government employment under the Dalit/Adivasi reservation schemes. These families suffered discrimination and remained excluded from village life and facilities, including public wells and temples. Amba, much closer to Nakuur town, had a 'dormitory' feel, as most residents left for significant portions of each day. It was populated almost entirely by Passi households (a Dalit jati whose tradition occupation was tapping palm-wine) and perceived by outsiders, especially Sagar families, as threatening. The only buildings were residences and a temple, although the OBC family who ran Sagar tuition and a private school also ran a computer centre from their extended family compound.



# Appendix 14: Background of teachers and Cohort 3 focus-class families

14.1 Table 1: Teacher details

T.U.R.N.	Name	Ph 3	S	SG	TT	A	Ex	FE	ME	M	Ek	I	O
<b>Vidya Primary School</b>		<b>Std</b>											
<b>VME1</b>	<b>Deepak Patodia</b>	5	M	SC	PT	25	4	11		S	A	5	31
VFE7	Mohini Singh	1	F	Ot	ET	36	13	4	3	M	Y	3	7
VFE8	Anu Ukey	1	F	ST	ET	34	14	I	I	M	Y	3	4
VFC9	Minakshi Kajwey	3	F	Ot	ET	38	18			M	Y	1	3
VFC10	Sarita Dharey	5	F	SC	PT	41	6			W	N	1	3
VMD11~AHT	Ramesh Abiwar	3	M	SC	ET	45	20	I	I	M	A	2	1
VMD12	Rakesh Chaturvedi	4	M	Ot	ET	42	16	6	0	M	RT	3	4
VFC13	Kusu Upadhyay	2	F	Ot	ET	47	21			M	A	0	1
VFC14	Rajni Makvey	2	F	Ot	ET	47	19			M	Y	0	3
VMD15	Ajit Daley	2	M	Ot	ET	47	23				A	0	
VFC16	Kalyani Gadri	3	F	O	ET	53	28			M	RT	0	1
VFC17	Tamana Shukla	4	F	Ot	ET	45	22				A	0	2
VMD18	Raju Sisodia	4	M	Ot	ET	37	9				A	0	3
VFC19	Uma Badhai	5	F	O	ET	44	16			S	A	0	2
VMD20	Rahul Mani	Ab	M	Ot	PT	25	4				n/a	0	2
VMD21~HT	Mohamed Khan	*R	M	Ot	ET		24+			M	RT	0	1
VFC22	Shalini Sharma	*PA	F	Ot	ET					M	A	0	2
<b>Private tuition tutors</b>													
<b>TVME2</b>	<b>Sanni Kevat</b>	Any	M	O	Pri	30	8	2	n/a	M	N	2	4
<b>TSME6</b>	<b>Lalit Varma</b>	1 to 8	M	O	Pri	37	17	11	4	M	N	2	4
<b>Sagar Middle School</b>													
<b>SME3~AHT</b>	<b>Santosh Pandey</b>	6,7,8	M	Ot	ET	55	32	G	6	M	RT	2	24
<b>SFE4</b>	<b>Rounak Tiwari</b>	6,7,8	F	Ot	ET	45	23	10	4	S	RT	6	23
<b>SFE5</b>	<b>Seema Dhakley</b>	6,7,8	F	SC	PT	33	6	11	0	M	N	2	8
SMD23	Shailesh Chaubey	6,7,8	M	Ot	ET	58	35			M	Y	0	2
SMD24~HT	Durgesh Sankheray	*R	M	O	ET		24+				Y	0	5

## Key

Std	Standard taught in Phase 3	M	Marital status. M - Married, S - Single, W- Widowed.
S	Sex	Ek	Experience of Eklavya - Y/N, RT, or A.
SG	Social Group - as student classifications: ST/SC/OBC/Other		(RT- Resource Teacher, A-aware, but not involved).
A	Age in March 2003	I	Number of interviews
TT	Type of teacher (ET- established-teacher. PT para-teacher).	O	Number of observations
Ex	Teaching experience (in years)	*PA	Passed away
FE	Father's education: (Years. G - Graduate. I- Illiterate)	*R	Retired by Phase 3
ME	Mother's education: (Years. G - Graduate. I- Illiterate)	*Ab	Absent for Phase 3

Where there is no entry, the information was not available.

14.2 Table 2: Income groups<sup>100</sup>

Group	Annual income	Monthly income		Group	Annual income	Monthly income	
		From	To			From	To
PL	Up to 12,000	Anything	1,000	I	90,000-99,999	7,500	8,333
A	12,000-19,999	1,000	1,667	J	100,000-109,999	8,333	9,167
B	20,000-29,999	1,667	2,500	K	110,000-119,999	9,167	10,000
C	30,000-39,999	2,500	3,333	L	120,000-129,999	10,000	10,833
D	40,000-49,999	3,333	4,167	M	130,000-139,999	10,833	11,667
E	50,000-59,999	4,167	5,000	N	140,000-149,999	11,667	12,500
F	60,000-69,999	5,000	5,883	O	150,000-159,999	12,500	13,333
G	70,000-79,999	5,883	6,667	P	160,000-169,999	13,333	14,167
H	80,000-89,999	6,667	7,500	Q	170,000-179,999	14,167	15,000

14.3 Table 3: Calculations of teacher pay/incentives

Name	P/M	S	SG	TT	Ex	PA	BPP	BPMIn	MinDA	Min T	BPMMax	MaxDA	Max T
Anu Uikey	P	F	ST	LDT	14	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Seema Dakhley	M	F	SC	SK:3	6	SK:3	5		N/R		800	1,456	2,256
Sarita Dharey	P	F	SC	SK:3	6	SK:3	5		N/R		800	1,456	2,256
Kalyani Gadri	P	F	O	LDT	28	HT	10	5,500	2,255	7,755	9,000	3,690	12,690
Uma Badhai	P	F	O	LDT	16	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Shalini Sharma	P(*PA)	F	Ot	LDT	n/a	n/a	n/a						
Mohini Singh	P	F	Ot	LDT	13	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Kusu Upadhyay	P	F	Ot	LDT	21	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Rajni Makvey	P	F	Ot	LDT	19	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Minakshi Kajwey	P	F	Ot	LDT	18	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Tamana Shukla	P	F	Ot	LDT	22	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Rounak Tiwari	M	F	Ot	LDT	23	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Ramesh Ahiwar	P	M	SC	LDT	20	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Deepak Patodia	P	M	SC	SK:3	4	SK:3	5		N/R		800	1,456	2,256
Durgesh Sankheray	M *R	M	O	LDT	24+	P	11	6,500	2,460	8,960	10,500	4,305	14,805
Rahul Mani	P Ab	M	Ot	SK:3	4	SK:3	5		N/R		800	1,456	2,256
Mohamed Khan	P *R	M	Ot	LDT	24+	HT	10	5,500	2,255	7,755	9,000	3,690	12,690
Ajit Daley	P	M	Ot	LDT	23	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Raju Sisodia	P	M	Ot	LDT	9	LDT	8	4,000	1,640	5,640	6,000	2,460	8,460
Rakesh Chaturvedi	P	M	Ot	LDT	16	UDT	9	5,000	2,050	7,050	8,000	3,280	11,280
Santosh Pandey	M	M	Ot	LDT	32	HT	10	5,500	2,255	7,755	9,000	3,690	12,690
Shailesh Chaubey	M	M	Ot	LDT	35	HT	10	5,500	2,255	7,755	9,000	3,690	12,690
Sanni Kevat	Any	M	O	P									10,000
Lalit Varma	1 to 8	M	O	P									20,000

**Key**

P/M	Primary or Middle
S	Sex
SG	Social Group
TT	Teacher Type
Ex	Years Experience
PA	Paid as

BPP	Basic Pay Point
BPMIn	Basic Pay Minimum
Min DA	Minimum possible monthly DA
Min T	Minimum possible monthly wage
BPMMax	Basic Pay Maximum
MaxDA	Maximum possible monthly DA
Max T	Maximum possible monthly wage

<sup>100</sup> The exchange rate was Rs 74 to £1 on 1.03.03. To contextualise these figures, the average teaching-earned monthly income (not total family income) of teachers in the sample was Rs 6,250. A teacher in a private computer company earned Rs.4,000, a sum for his own use viewed as pocket money. My field assistant was paid Rs.6,000 monthly, an amount which suitably experienced candidates from metropolitan cities considered too low to be viable. I paid Rs 600 per month rent for a basic room and food in a family home with no cooking facilities and shared toilet/shower ones.

14.4 Table 4: Distribution of family incomes

IG PL	Standard 5 boys Boy	Standard 5 girls None	Standard 8 boys None	Standard 8 girls None	IG PL
A	Boy	Sujata Khorey	Boy	Saroj Sahu	A
A	Boy	Bina Phurvi	Boy	Leela Rehelot	A
A	Boy	Damini and Ravi	Boy	Damini Sutar	A
A	Boy	Suman and Ram	Boy	Jagruti Sahu	A
A	Boy	Ananya Kaithwas	Boy	Lajwanti Chaudri	A
			Boy	Lajwanti Sahu	
B	Boy	Ananya Nuikey	Boy	Chitra Sahu	B
B	Boy	Sujata Saini	Boy		B
B	Boy	Rewa and Sunanda	Boy		B
B	Boy		Boy		B
B	Boy		Boy		B
B	Boy				B
C	Boy	Rashmi and Arun	Boy	Kanchan Gourey	C
C	Boy	Parul Kaithwas	Boy	Kanchan Banwar	C
C	Boy	Aradhna Uikey	Boy	Pratima Singh	C
C	Boy	Kamini Kalsi			C
C		Anu Khan			C
C		Priya Gehlot			C
C		Shobha Gehlot			C
C		Reena Singh			C
D	Boy	Sudha, Rani, Kshama	Boy	Alka and Prem Khorey	D
D	Boy	Damini and Malik	Boy	Usha Chhalotrey	D
D			Boy		D
D			Boy		D
D			Boy		D
E	None	Aruna Kaithwas	None	Lekha Sutar	E
F	None		Boy	Anamika Khorey	F
F			Boy	Madhuri Sarvan	F
G	None	None	Boy	Bali Singh	G
G			Boy		G
G			Boy		G
G			Boy		G
G			Boy		G
H	None	None	None	None	H
I	None	None	None	Sharmila Khorey	I
I				Alka Chhalotrey	I
I				Meena Sahu	I
I				Rakhi Khorey	I
J	None	None	None	None	J
K	None	None	None	None	K
L	None	None	2 brothers	None	L

**Monthly averages, Rupees**

	Boys	Girls	Both
<b>Std 5</b>	2,255	2,517	2,383
<b>Std 8</b>	3,542	3,970	3,724

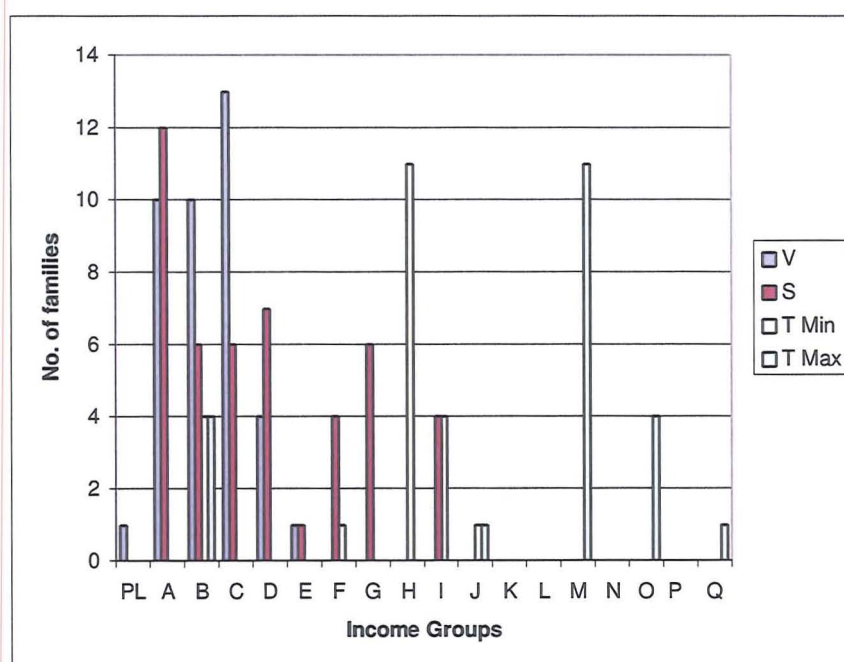


14.5 Table 5: Teacher income groups, according to monthly salary

	Name	Minimum	Income	Maximum	Income
1	<i>Deepak Patodia</i>	2,256	B	2,256	B
2	<i>Rahul Mani</i>	2,256	B	2,256	B
3	<i>Sarita Dharey</i>	2,256	B	2,256	B
4	<i>Seema Dakhley</i>	2,256	B	2,256	B
5	Raju Sisodia	5,640	F	8,460	J
6	Ajit Daley	7,050	H	11,280	M
7	Rakesh Chaturvedi	7,050	H	11,280	M
8	Ramesh Ahiwar	7,050	H	11,280	M
9	Anu Uikey	7,050	H	11,280	M
10	Kusu Upadhyay	7,050	H	11,280	M
11	Minakshi Kajwey	7,050	H	11,280	M
12	Mohini Singh	7,050	H	11,280	M
13	Rajni Makvey	7,050	H	11,280	M
14	Rounak Tiwari	7,050	H	11,280	M
15	Tamana Shukla	7,050	H	11,280	M
16	Uma Badhai	7,050	H	11,280	M
17	Mohamed Khan	7,755	I	12,690	O
18	Santosh Pandey	7,755	I	12,690	O
19	Shailesh Chaubey	7,755	I	12,690	O
20	Kalyani Gadri	7,755	I	12,690	O
21	Durgesh Sankheray	8,960	J	14,805	Q
22	<i>Sanni Kevat</i>	10,000	L	10,000	L
23	<i>Lalit Varma</i>	20,000	W	20,000	W

The first four teachers, in italics, are Shiksha Karmis/para-teachers.

14.6 Chart 1: Income group distribution of teachers\* and focus-class families



\* Does not include tuition tutors

## Appendix 15: Nakuur educational data

15.1 Table 1: Social group percentages of total population

Social Group	ST	SC	OBC	Other	(O-H)	O-non-H)
India - NFHS-2	9.1	18.7	32.4	38.8	(22.0)	17.0)
MP - MPNFHS-2	23.7	16.1	39.8	20.2	(12.4)	7.8)
Nakuur District	25.7	18.4	34.3	21.6	(O-H = Other Hindu)	
Sagar and Amba	14.6	35.5	39.7	10.2	(O-non-H = Other, non-Hindu)	

Sources: India/MP from NFHS 2 (1998/99 data). District from Appendix 15, Table 1 - SSA LSA-II data, Sagar & Amba from Sagar Primary School, for SSA LSA-II (2000/01 data). NFHS-2 data refers to 'household heads'. District and Sagar/Amba data refers to children from 6-14.

15.2 Table 2: Nakuur block and town schooling

	EGS			Primary			Middle			S & Higher Secondary			Colleges		
Nakuur Block	45			130			46			7			3		
No. in Nakuur town	0			10			5 + Urdu			3			3		
Boys	0	0	45	2	2	6	4	1	1-U	2	0	1	0	0	3

Source: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) from Nakuur Block Resource Centre, obtained March 2003

15.3 Table 3: Nakuur district: child population and numbers enrolled

	ST		SC		OBC		Other	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nakuur district 6-11 pop.	10,837	8,088	7,303	5,538	12,609	10,938	7,206	6,352
Nakuur district 6-11 enrolment	9,333	6,383	7,260	5,539	12,916	11,696	8,027	5,495
Population less enrolled	1,504	1,705	97	1 over	307 over	785 over	821 over	857
Nakuur district 11-14 pop.	4,620	2,859	3,614	2,513	6,294	5,441	4,846	3,851
Nakuur district 11-14 enrolment	1,254	587	1,567	893	8,489	5,826	3,042	1,843
Population less enrolled	3,366	2,272	2,047	1,610	2,195 over	385 over	1,804	2,008

Source: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a)

15.4 Table 4: District and Sagar populations and enrolment, by social group

	ST	SC	OBC	Ot	Totals
District 6-14 pop - absolute numbers	26,404	18,968	35,282	22,255	102,909
<i>Social group percentages of District 6-14 pop</i>	25.7	18.4	34.3	21.6	
District elementary enrolment - absolute numbers	17,557	15,259	38,927	18,415	90,150
<i>Social group percentages of District elementary school enrolment</i>	19.5	16.9	43.1	20.4	
Sagar and Amba 6-14 pop - absolute numbers	100	243	272	70	685
<i>Social group percentages of Sagar and Amba 6-14 pop</i>	14.6	35.5	39.7	10.2	
Sagar elementary school enrolment - absolute numbers	56	172	171	40	439
<i>Social group percentages of Sagar elementary school enrolment</i>	12.8	39.2	38.9	9.1	
Sagar middle school enrolment - absolute numbers	1	38	76	25	140
<i>Social group percentages of Sagar middle school enrolment</i>	0.7	27.1	54.3	17.9	

Sources: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a), and school registers

15.5 Table 5: Sagar and Amba: 6-14 pop. and enrolled, as percentage of totals

	ST	SC	OBC	Ot
Sagar and Amba 6-14 pop	14.6	35.5	39.7	10.2
Sagar elementary school enrolment	12.8	39.2	38.9	9.1

15.6 Table 6: Sagar and Amba: 6-14 pop. and enrolled, as absolute numbers

	ST	SC	OBC	Ot	Totals
Sagar and Amba 6-14 population	100	243	272	70	685
Sagar elementary school enrolment	56	172	171	40	439
Sagar/Amba 6-14 children not in Sagar School	44	71	101	30	246
Percentage of each Social Group not enrolled at Sagar School	44	29.2	37	42	

15.7 Table 7: District enrolment by social group, percentage of total enrolment

Social Group	District 6-11 (primary) enrolment					District 11-14 (middle) enrolment				
	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Totals	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Totals
Boys	9,333	7,260	12,916	8,027	37,536	1,254	1,567	8,489	3,042	14,352
Percentage of total enrol.	14	10.9	19.4	12	56.3	5.3	6.7	36.1	12.9	61.1
Girls	6,383	5,539	11,696	5,495	29,113	587	893	5,826	1,843	9,149
Percentage of total enrol.	9.6	8.3	17.5	8.2	43.7	2.5	3.8	24.8	7.8	38.9
B and G totals	15,716	12,799	24,612	13,522	66,649	1,841	2,460	14,315	4,893	23,501
Percentage of total enrol.	23.6	19.2	36.9	20.3		7.8	10.5	60.9	20.8	

Source: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a)

15.8 Table 8: District 'wastage' between Standards 5 and 8, by social group

		ST	SC	OBC	Other	Totals
Both	Primary	23.6	19.2	36.9	20.3	100
	Middle	7.8	10.5	60.9	20.8	100
	Change	15.8 D	8.7D	24U	0.5U	
Boys	Primary	14	10.9	19.4	12	56.3
	Middle	5.3	6.7	36.1	12.9	61.1
	Change	8.7D	4.2D	16.7U	0.9U	
Girls	Primary	9.6	8.3	17.5	8.2	43.7
	Middle	2.5	3.8	24.8	7.8	38.9
	Change	7.1D	4.5D	7.3U	0.4U	

Source: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a) (As above)

15.9 Table 9: Vidya/Sagar Phase 3 enrolment by social group, %-age of total enrolment

Social Group	Vidya - both shifts					Sagar				
	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Totals	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Totals
Boys	62	109	203	79	453	0	21	44	14	79
Percentage of total enrol.	8.4	14.7	27.4	10.7	61.2	0	15	31.4	10	56.4
Girls	41	78	105	43	267	1	17	32	11	61
Percentage of total enrol.	5.7	10.5	14.2	5.8	36.1	0.7	12.1	22.9	8	43.6
Band G totals	103	187	308	122	720	1	38	76	25	140
Percentage of total enrol.	14.3	26	42.8	17		0.7	27.1	54.3	17.9	

Source: School registers, collated by Mukesh Shukla, March 2003

15.10 Table 10: District/school Phase 3 enrolment by social group, %-age of total enrolment

	District 6-11 and Vidya enrolment					District 11-14 and Sagar enrolment				
	ST	SC	OBC	Other	All	ST	SC	OBC	Other	All
District – B and G	23.6	19.2	36.9	20.3	100	7.8	10.5	60.9	20.8	100
Schools – B and G	14.3	26	42.8	17	100	0.7	27.1	54.3	17.9	100
Classes – B and G	8.3	43.3	26.7	21.7	100	0	20	62	18	100
District – girls	9.6	8.3	17.5	8.2	43.7	2.5	3.8	24.8	7.8	38.9
Schools – girls	5.7	10.5	14.2	5.8	36.1	0.7	12.1	22.9	8	43.6
Classes – girls	3.3	20	11.7	6.7	41.7	0	8	28	4	40

Sources: SSA LSA II data (2000-2001) (Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002a), and school registers

15.11 Table 11: Nakuur District teachers by grade and sex

	Teachers			LDT		SK		SS	
	Total	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Primary-Rural	788	625	163	319	42	296	116	10	5
Primary-Urban	150	70	80	49	57	21	23	0	0
Primary-Both	938	695	243	266	99	248	104	10	5
Middle-Rural	340	251	89	127	8	60	31	64	50
Middle-Urban	52	31	21	28	17	3	3	0	1
Middle-Both	392	282	110	155	25	63	34	64	51
P and M-Both	1330	977	353	421	124	311	138	74	56

Source: DEO Office, Nakuur, 21 February 2003

## Appendix 16: Focus-school details

### 16.1 Vidya Primary School

#### Vidya Primary School

#### 2002 to 2003 (Fieldwork Phase 3)

Number of shifts	2 AM and PM
Morning lesson and break times (official)	7.15 am to 11.50 am
Morning lesson and break times (actual)	8 or 8.30 am to 11.30 am
Afternoon lesson and break times (official)	12 midday until 5 pm
Morning lesson and break times (actual)	12 or 12.30 until 4.30 pm
Total no. on roll: boys: girls	720: 453:267 (ST:SC:OBC:Oth - 103:187:308:122)
Total no. of classes (reported)	14
How many classes per grade/per shift?	Usually 1, if 2, classes often merged.
Size of school	Large, substantial, once 'grand'. 8 rooms, large veranda, large grounds.
Catchment area	Unspecified, some pupils walk over 3 kms each way.
Total number of classrooms?	6: one short per session
Other rooms?	Staff room and dusty, unused store-room.
Condition of classrooms	Original infrastructure good, very poorly maintained. At stage that renovation become very costly. Plaster and paint peeling, roof leaking, blackboards inadequate.
Displays or teaching aids on walls?	Nothing.
Level of lighting in classrooms?	Good. Many big windows, some with security bars, but no locks. Theft a major issue.
Electricity?	Old and broken light fittings, fans and wiring: no supply.
Locks on classroom doors, windows?	Padlocks on doors. No means to secure windows.
Veranda? Is it used?	Enough space even for extra class, but not used creatively.
Toilets?	Broken and dangerous. No doors and no drainage/water. (Never used by women. 1 teacher fell and broke leg).
Taps for drinking water?	Infrastructure, but broken. Pump installed in 2002, dangerous handle.
Seating mats?	Insufficient for each class, even for one shift.
Storage cupboards?	In staff room and some teachers' rooms, with fragile locks.
Play area?	Large playground, once an orchard. Now filthy, used as latrine behind bus stand. Littered with cut boulders for road working, sharp as flint axe-heads.
Boundary wall/fence?	Gate and posts, but no fencing
Other notable features?	Back flanked by pool of stagnant mosquito-infested water. Walls between rooms go up to ceilings. 2 classes with un-lockable windows joining them, causing considerable distraction both ways.
Total number of teachers (reported)	14 (The following shows Standards taught and names)
<b>Morning Shift: 7</b>	1: Mrs Mohini Singh
Officially 7 am to 12 midday	2: Mr Ajit Daley
Ramesh Ahiwar (AHT) came both shifts	3: Mrs Minakshi Kajwey
All men taught first shift	4: Mr Rakesh Chaturvedi Both Standard 4 classes merged.
	4: Mr Raju Sisodia Both Standard 4 classes merged
	5: Mr Deepak Patodia (Standard 5 Focus-class)
	5: Ms Uma Badhai
<b>Afternoon Shift: 7</b>	1: Mrs Anu Uikey Merged with Standard 5
Officially 12 midday to 5 pm	2: Mrs Rajni Makvey
All women except AHT	2: Mrs Kusu Upadhyay
	3: Mrs Kalyani Gadri
(Rahul Mani on staff roll, but continuously absent without leave. Not pursued by HT).	3: Mr Ramesh Ahiwar (AHT) Merged with Std 1.
	4: Mrs Tamana Shukla
	5: Mrs Sarita Dharey

## 16.2 Sagar Middle School

### Sagar Middle School

Number of shifts

School time (from, to)

Lessons and break times

First and second periods

*Short break*

Third and fourth periods

*Long break*

Fifth, sixth and supplementary periods

Total no. on roll: boys: girls

No. of classes: grades per class

Size of school

Catchment area

Total number of classrooms?

Other rooms?

Condition of classrooms

Displays or teaching aids on walls?

Level of lighting in classrooms?

Electricity?

Locks on classroom doors, windows?

Veranda? Is it used?

Toilets?

Taps for drinking water?

**Seating mats?**

Storage cupboards?

Play area?

Boundary wall/fence?

Other notable features?

Total number of teachers (reported)

#### **Year 6: tutor's name, total, boys: girls**

In which room? How many pupils in total?

Boys: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Girls: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Totals: B&G/ST/SC/OBC/Others

#### **Year 7: tutor's name, total, boys: girls**

In which room? How many pupils in total?

Boys: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Girls: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Totals: B&G/ST/SC/OBC/Others

#### **Year 8: tutor's name, total, boys: girls**

In which room? How many pupils in total?

Boys: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Girls: T/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Totals: B&G/ST/SC/OBC/Others

Totals ST/SC/OBC/Others

### 2002 to 2003 (Fieldwork Phase 3)

1 - PM (Building houses primary school in morning).

12 midday to 5 pm

Gen. upheld, supplementary never offered, all lessons shortened

12.05-12.50, then 12.50 to 1.35

1.35-1.45

1.45-2.30, then 2.30-3.15

3.15-3.45

3.45-4.30, 4.30-5.15, then 5.25 to 6.05

140: 79: 61 (ST:SC:OBC:Oth - 1: 38: 76: 25)

03:01

Small

Sagar village and Amba settlement

4 – originally 3, one divided, so an extra useful room

2 very small storerooms

Small, cramped, badly ventilated, inadequate blackboards.

Phase 1 and 2: UNICEF decorations painted on walls.

Inadequate, small windows overlooking private property

Obtained in 2003 for JSK

Yes, robust.

Often used for extra learning/play space

Nearby Panchayat toilets unusable, no door, drainage or water

Pump broken. Pupils go to village pump by main road.

New mats, sufficient for all pupils, labelled and locked away between sessions.

Strong metal cupboards in staff and classrooms.

Small, inadequate. Most pupils go home at both breaks.

Yes, renovated by Third Phase

Walls between rooms do not reach ceiling, so considerable noise distraction.

3 new rooms in 2002 for JSK, 1 for computers

AHT + 3 (1 of these is assigned to PS, but teachers in MS)

Mr S Pandey (AHT), Ms R Tiwari,

Mr S Chaubey, Mrs S Dhakley.

Mrs S Dhakley

Room 2: 47

24-0:10:12:2

23-1:8:10:4

47-1:18:22:6

Mr S Pandey (AHT)

Room 3: 43

25-0:5:15:5

18-0:5:8:5

43-0:10-23:10

Ms R Tiwari

(Standard 8 Focus-class)

Room 1: 50

30-0:6:17:7

20-0:4:14:2

50-0:10:31:9

140-1:38:76:25

Appendix 17: Work covered during videoed observations  
17.1 Table 1: Standard 5

	7.12.02	9.12.02	10.12.02	11.12.02	12.12.02	16.12.02	17.12.02
Hindi	Not recorded. Chapter 9, Reading from pages 43 to 47 covered in previous lessons.	Chapter 9, Pages 47-49. Discussed, asked questions, wrote answers on BB and class copied. Huge amount covered.	Chapter 10, from page 53. Discussed and asked questions, page 54, 3 to 5. T wrote Qs on BB, asked fro As and wrote them.	Teacher absent (Independent story writing for Elspeth)	Chapter 11, Page 58. Discussing and asking all sub-sections of question 2, writing answers on BB to copy. So much copying.	Chapter 12, Pages 60 and 61, Question 1 and Question 2:1 and 2:2.	Chapter 12, Page 61, discussing and asking questions 2:3 and 2:4 from question 2. Writing on BB to be copied.
Environmental Studies	Chapter 11, Page 68-73. Reading and expounding from page 75 onwards.	Not taught	Pages 75 to 78. Reading and expounding. Long reading section.	Going back to tables on pages 76 and 77, copying 'Fill in the blanks' table from BB. T wrote all Q&As from The Guide on BB.	<b>NOT TAUGHT.</b> 16.12.02. Page 79, copying from BB, Exercise A, question 5 onwards, exercises B & C orally.	17.12.02 Double session. First half. Pages 80-82, Asking questions from subsection D - 'Fill in the blanks'. Answers from books, T puts them on BB. (T/B mistake)	Second half. Chapter 9, Page 56, Asking questions to whole class from page 56, part A.
Maths	Not recorded	Chapter 9, Page 99, Exercise 9.2 explained questions 13, 14, 15. Asked 'Oral Questions' 1 and 2. T posed 5 Qs, answered 3.	T absent on duty for first half. Non-book problems. Page 99, Exercise 9.2, discussed and explained 'Oral Question' 1 (again) and 3.	Page 99. Explained 'Oral Question' 3 twice on BB. Wrote own on BB to copy. Asked 'Oral Questions' 4 to 8.	Not taught	Page 103, Exercise 9.3, discussed questions 1 to 4. Dictates own Qs, gives one for homework.	Checking homework. Page 103, Exercise 9.3, question 5. Page 106 exercise 9.4, 'Oral Questions' 1 and 2.

	16.1.03	17.1.03	18.1.03	20.1.03	21.1.03	22.1.03	23.1.03
<b>Maths</b>	Not observed	Chapter 11, Page 62, Exercise 11b, questions 1-3 done	No lesson - teacher at JSK meeting	Starts with own problems, then page 62 Q 4 and 5. After checking, wrote answer on BB to copy.	Started Chapter 7, from page 35 up to page 36, end of question 2	Page 36 question 3 and page 37 question 5 (not 4). Gave own question, with second half for HW.	Page 38, Exercise 7b, questions 1 and 2, then own questions.
<b>Science</b>	Chapter 10, Page 79, starts at 10.2, 1/4 way down 2nd column to page 81, 1/2 way down 1st column	Non-books Qs on BB. Back to page 80 - text box Amoebic Dysentery, then reading from 81, 1/2 way down 1st column, to page 82, 1/2 way down 2nd column (was expired).	No lesson - teacher at JSK meeting	From page 82 (Commercial Uses) to page 83, top of second column (Name one), before start of Section 10.4	From page 83, 10.4 (Storage and Prevention), up to page 84 questions 1 to 5 (spoil food).	From page 84, 'Now you know' to page 85, end of chapter.	Started Chapter 11, page 86, to page 87 quarter way down first column, after question 2.
<b>Social Science</b>	Hist Chapter 6, Page 51 to page 52, 1/2 way done second column (India).	From page 52 (in 1866) to page 54, end of first paragraph, (oppressed).	From page 54, beginning of third paragraph (Dayanand) to page 55, end of first column (reform movements)	From 55, top of second column (Ramakrishna Mission). To page 56, half way down first column (Muslim Reform)	From page 56 (Muslim Reform) to page 57, almost to end of second column (orthodox Muslims). Homework given from Guide.	From page 57 (Parsis and Sikhs) to page 60, half way down first column (Cultural Awakening). Gives questions from Guide.	Not taught
<b>English</b>	Not observed	Passive Voice. Lots of non-book eg's, then returns to Chapter 17, Page 45, Exercise 3. Qs for HW.	Checks HW, explains problems, dictates grammar rules, gives sentences to change from active to passive.	Non-book - 'Inverted Commas'. Teacher reads, explains and asks about passage from start of Chapter 18, Page 46, to Page 46, end of second paragraph. HW	Test - Hindi words, to be translated into Devanagari English! HW	Started Page 46, 3rd paragraph (When) to end of extract on Page 47 (your boxes). Discussion then 1 paragraph to be copied (6 lines). HW - read chapter, answer questions and correct yesterday's homework	Dictation from text, going through Exercise 1, Questions 1 to 4.

17.2 Table 2: Standard 8



## Appendix 18: Both cohorts, focus-class 'board exam' performance

### 18.1 Key to tables and father's occupations

No.	Pupil number assigned for all calculations (These are different from Cohort 3 girls' unique reference numbers).
GURN	Girl's unique reference number – for Cohort 3 girls (used throughout thesis)
Student	All students other than the 42 Cohort 3 girls are represented by the word 'girl' or 'boy'. (Data pertaining to all 189 attending pupils – of both classes over both cohorts was analysed, but pseudonyms were not created for 147 pupils).
Age	Cohort 2 pupils' age was calculated as of 1.7.02, and Cohort 3 as of 1.7.02
R	Religion
Caste	Caste grouping according to ST/SC/OBC/General
Jati	Sub-caste grouping
Father's work	See key below

#### Standard 5

H	Hindi marks (All subjects marks are out of 100).
M	Maths marks
EVS	Environmental Studies marks
Total	Total marks, across all relevant subjects. Out of 300.
Red marks	Indicative of failure in related subject/aggregate. Minimum pass requirement was 33%.
R5	Rank in Standard 5 board exam ( <b>bold, green font</b> ). Out of 53.
O	Outcome – Pass ( <b>bold, blue font</b> ), Fail ( <b>bold, red font</b> ) or Supplementary (black font)
S	Supplementary exam outcome – Pass or Fail

Table 3 (Phase 3, Standard 5) continues on a second page, but the pupils the continuation table did not attend school, despite their names being on roll.

#### Standard 8

H	Hindi marks (All subjects marks are out of 100).
E	English marks
Sk	Sanskrit marks
M	Maths marks
SS	Social Science marks
Sc	Science marks
Total	Total marks, across all relevant subjects. Out of 600.
Red marks	Indicative of failure in related subject/aggregate. Minimum pass requirement was 33%.
R8	Rank in Standard 8 board exam ( <b>bold, green font</b> ). Out of 50.
O	Outcome – Pass ( <b>bold, blue font</b> ), Fail ( <b>bold, red font</b> ) or Supplementary (black font)
S	Supplementary exam outcome – Pass or Fail

The last column of Table 4 (Phase 3, Standard 8) indicates what pupils who sat supplementary exams did in the following year. This data is not available for the other classes.

#### Key to father's work

Service-Gov	Government Service
Service-Pri	Private Service
Service	Neither government nor private specified
Driver	Driver - truck, tractor, auto
Rickshaw	Rides cycle rickshaw
DWL	Daily Wage Labour
DWL-A	Daily Wage Labour - Agriculture
Labour	Labour - payment type unspecified
MPEB	Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board
Lineman	Railways, government service
Gangman	Railways, government service
Watchman-R	Railways, government service
Gateman	Railways, government service



18.2 Table 1: Phase 2, Standard 5 pupil background data and board exam results

No	Student	Age	R	Caste	Jati	Father wk	H	M	EVS	Total	R5	O
		17.01										
43	Girl	11.00	H	G	Brahmin	Pri Service	82	83	83	248	1	P
27	Girl	12.00	H	OBC	Lodhi	Pri Service	77	81	85	243	2	P
17	Boy	12.03	H	SC	Katia	Govt Service	72	82	78	232	3	P
25	Girl	11.05	S	OBC	Sikh	Business	67	80	83	230	4	P
45	Girl	9.06	H	OBC	Ahore	Mechanic	77	79	73	229	5	P
41	Girl	10.04	M	G	?	Truck Driver	68	80	81	229	7	P
39	Girl	11.00	H	SC	Rajbhar	Labour	70	79	80	229	6	P
11	Boy	12.08	C	G	Esai	Govt Service	72	78	76	226	8	P
29	Girl	10.04	M	G	?	Shop Keeper	66	72	85	223	9	P
7	Boy	10.02	H	SC	Balahi	Pri Service	78	74	71	223	10	P
42	Girl	9.09	M	OBC	Fakir	Auto Driver	58	81	79	218	11	P
32	Girl	11.03	H	OBC	Teli	Shop Keeper	65	64	83	212	12	P
34	Girl	13.08	H	SC	Katia	Service	65	71	75	211	15	P
23	Girl	9.07	H	OBC	Lodhi	Mechanic	60	73	78	211	13	P
10	Boy	9.10	H	OBC	Lodhi	Pri Service	63	74	74	211	14	P
36	Girl	9.04	H	G	Bengali	Truck Driver	63	68	79	210	16	P
4	Boy	10.03	H	SC	Balahi	Shop Keeper	47	75	81	203	17	P
35	Girl	9.08	H	OBC	Bengali	Hotel	50	70	81	201	18	P
26	Girl	10.04	H	ST	Gond	Labour	53	68	79	200	20	P
8	Boy	12.03	M	OBC	Momin	Truck Driver	52	76	72	200	19	P
5	Boy	11.05	H	SC	Katia	Farmer	44	74	79	197	21	P
9	Boys	12.00	H	SC	Balahi	Labour	55	66	71	192	22	P
6	Boy	9.06	H	G	Rajput	Mechanic	73	52	58	183	23	P
16	Boy	14.09	M	OBC	Pinjara	Labour	42	58	77	177	24	P
18	Boy	11.06	M	G	?	Govt Service	54	57	64	175	25	P
30	Girl	11.04	H	G	Brahmin	Govt Service	35	64	75	174	26	P
3	Boy	12.00	H	G	Rajput	Govt Service	45	69	58	172	27	P
13	Boy	9.07	H	OBC	Bengali	Pri Service	34	66	71	171	28	P
33	Girl	12.03	H	SC	Mehra	Driver	35	68	59	162	30	P
2	Boy	11.09	H	OBC	Dheemmar	Pri Service	46	71	45	162	29	P
44	Girl	11.04	H	SC	Passy	Service	54	48	50	152	31	P
31	Girl	9.08	H	OBC	Bengali	Shop Keeper	50	65	34	149	32	P
15	Boy	11.00	H	OBC	Lunia	Labour	13 S	57	50	120	33	SP
14	Boy	9.05	H	SC	Mahter	Govt Service	44	33	38	115	34	P
20	Boy	13.01	H	G	Rajput	Truck Driver	34	43	36	113	35	P
12	Boy	11.00	H	OBC	Nai	Barber	19 S	41	51	111	36	SP
1	Boy	10.06	M	G	Pathan	Pri Service	33	36	33	102	37	P
24	Girl	12.03	H	SC	Passy	Labour	10	58	16	94	38	F
22	Girl	12.01	H	SC	Balahi	Labour	6	61	22	89	39	F
37	Girl	12.01	H	SC	Katia	Labour	7	40	36	83	40	F
28	Girl	12.01	H	SC	Passy	Service	10	48	24	82	41	F
19	Boy	10.01	M	G	Pathan	Labour	14	23	40	77	42	F
40	Girl	10.03	H	OBC	Banjara	Labour	Ab				A	
38	Girl	13.00	H	SC	Mahar	Labour	Ab				A	
21	Girl	13.00	H	OBC	Banjara	Labour	Ab				A	

18.3 Table 2: Phase 2, Standard 8 pupil background data and board exam results

No	Student	Age	R	Caste	Jati	Father wk	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	Tot	R8	0
		17.01													
1	Boy	15.11	H	G	Jat	Farmer	82	77	65	65	63	75	427	1	P
24	Girl	11.8	H	OBC	Sutar	Farmer	71	79	68	67	64	72	421	2	P
4	Boy	14.3	H	ST	Korkoo	DWL	82	63	65	75	56	73	414	3	P
30	Girl	14.1	H	OBC	Gujar	Service	66	80	62	65	60	79	412	4	P
8	Boy	14.1	H	SC	Balahai	Railways	68	67	55	72	58	66	386	5	P
38	Girl	13.10	H	G	Brahman	Service	60	71	65	69	51	70	386	6	P
34	Girl	13	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	62	61	57	76	58	65	379	7	P
25	Girl	13.9	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	60	72	49	71	53	68	373	8	P
41	Girl	13	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	62	58	51	70	61	70	372	9	P
9	Boy	15	H	SC	Passey	Service	67	56	60	68	48	71	370	10	P
35	Girl	14.1	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	53	70	58	65	57	62	365	11	P
18	Boy	12.3	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	46	67	46	67	66	69	361	12	P
7	Boy	15.1	H	SC	Balahai	Farmer	66	57	57	54	61	63	358	13	P
14	Boy	13.10	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	54	73	52	65	50	61	355	14	P
13	Boy	14.10	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	70	59	55	63	37	28	352	15	P
6	Boy	14.1	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	47	58	58	67	51	64	345	16	P
33	Girl	12.4	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	71	57	55	56	44	61	344	17	P
17	Boy	12.8	H	ST	Rajgor	DWL	66	48	51	60	49	63	337	18	P
12	Boy	12.11	H	OBC	Gujar	Service	48	53	59	59	47	68	334	19	P
36	Girl	14	H	ST	Rajgor	DWL	46	49	54	62	51	69	331	20	P
39	Girl	14.5	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	63	59	50	58	47	52	329	21	P
26	Girl	14.7	H	OBC	Kumhar	Service	60	51	45	60	47	63	326	22	P
32	Girl	12.11	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	56	43	47	66	45	67	324	23	P
37	Girl	16	H	SC	Balahai	DWL	54	52	53	62	38	64	323	24	P
21	Boy	14.1	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	53	61	51	48	49	60	322	25	P
40	Girl	13	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	54	51	46	63	45	62	321	26	P
3	Boy	15.6	H	SC	Balahai	Farmer	54	55	45	59	33	62	308	27	P
5	Boy	13	M	OBC	Pinjara	Farmer	63	54	44	52	34	58	305	28	P
22	Boy	15.5	H	OBC	Nai	Barber	48	62	33	57	40	48	288	29	P
20	Boy	13.1	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	62	72	62	73	56	58	283	30	P
2	Boy	14	H	G	Rajput	Farmer	58	47	35	43	40	55	278	31	P
11	Boy	16.3	H	SC	Balahai	Driver	40	52	53	50	33	48	276	32	P
28	Girl	15.9	H	SC	Passey	DWL	50	39	42	33	48	62	267	33	P
29	Girl	16.1	H	SC	Passey	Railways	42	41	40	38	40	52	253	34	P
19	Boy	12.6	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	39	33	46	48	33	46	245	35	P
16	Boy	12.9	H	OBC	Gujar	Farmer	47	41	34	33	33	51	239	36	P
27	Girl	13.4	H	G	Brahman	Farmer	34	36	33	33	38	47	231	37	P
31	Girl	13	H	SC	Passey	DWL	34	36	33	37	39	49	228	38	P
10	Boy	16.6	H	SC	Chamar	Service	33	28	28	39	22	42	192	39	F
23	Boy	13.7	H	G	Brahman	GPO	36	22	17	21	34	57	187	40	F
15	Boy	16.6	H	SC	Balahai	Service	26	18	27	11	34	35	151	41	F



18.4 Table 3: Phase 3, Standard 5 pupil background data and board exam results

No. Student	GURN	Age	R	Caste	Jati	Father's work	H	M	EVS	T	R5	O	S
		1.7.02											
25 Reena	VC2C	11.06	H	G/R	Parihar	Watchman-R	64	72	56	192	1	P	
18 Sunanda	VC1B	13.06	H	OBC	Kurmi	Construction	60	64	50	174	2	P	
34 Boy		13.1	H	SC	Balahi	Tailor	41	70	56	167	3	P	
3 Ananya N	VA8B	10.02	H	SC	Katiya	DWL	40	66	50	156	4	P	
11 Aruna	VC5E	11.06	H	SC	Katiya	Labour	35	75	42	152	5	P	
15 Rewa	VU13B	15.01	H	OBC	Kurmi	Construction	51	62	35	148	6	P	
39 Boy		13	H	SC	Balahi	Wood planer	48	48	51	147	7	P	
30 Boy		10.09	H	SC	Pasi	Truck driver	40	68	37	145	8	P	
2 Ananya K	VA7A	11	H	SC	Katiya	DWL	46	58	38	142	9	P	
9 Priya	VC2E	10	H	SC	Balahi	DWL-A	33	57	48	138	10	P	
36 Boy		13	H	SC	Kori	DWL	37	61	39	137	11	P	
17 Sujata S	VA9B	11.11	H	OBC	Mali	Passed away	36	53	47	136	12	P	
57 Boy		11.1	H	G	Rajput	Security	34	52	45	131	13	P	
4 Shobha	VC3C	10.03	H	SC	Balahi	Planer	37	55	34	126	14	P	
41 Boy		11.06	H	ST	Korku	DWL-A	34	46	40	120	15	P	
28 Boy		11.11	H	SC	Kori	Expired	33	51	36	120	16	P	
46 Boy		9.09	H	OBC	Lodhi	Iron welding	39	46	33	118	17	P	
5 Sudha	VU21D	12.01	H	SC	Katiya	Lineman	33	60	25	118	18	S	P
40 Boy		10.08	H	ST	Gond	Credit collector	41	37	36	114	19	P	
12 Parul	VU15C	13.01	H	SC	Katiya	Passed away	21	54	37	112	20	S	F
20 Kamini	VU18C	12.09	S	OBC	Sikli Gar	Buses	15	59	37	111	21	S	P
6 Rani	VU20D	11.06	H	SC	Katiya	Lineman	33	53	23	109	22	S	P
54 Boy		10.11	H	OBC	Bhujwa	Cook	33	36	33	102	23	P	
32 Boy		11.11	H	SC	Mehra	Labour	21	43	33	97	24	S	P
14 Bina	VU10A	12.05	H	ST	Gond	Tea stall	11	62	20	93	25	S	P
7 Kanchan	VU19D	10.08	H	SC	Katiya	Gangman	16	52	21	89	26	S	P
26 Boy		11.05	H	SC	Katiya	Passed away	20	43	24	87	27	S	P
29 Boy		14.03	H	SC	Pasi	Unloads grain	13	33	40	86	28	S	P
56 Boy		10.03	H	G	Thakur	DWL-A	21	29	34	84	29	S	P
52 Boy		10.1	H	OBC	Nai	Labour	17	44	21	82	31	S	P
22 Anu	VU17C	12.02	M	OBC	Pinjara	Labour	17	47	18	82	30	S	P
58 Boy		11.03	M	?	Musalman	Tractor driver	21	33	22	76	32	S	P
48 Boy		12	H	OBC	Lunia	Construction	20	45	9	74	33	S	P
45 Boy		13.01	H	OBC	Deshwali	DWL	20	40	11	71	34	S	P
51 Boy		11.09	H	OBC	Yaduwanshi	Wood planer	14	37	19	70	35	S	F
8 Damini G	VU12A	12.09	H	SC	Balahi	Labour	5	43	21	69	36	S	P
24 Damini C	VU22D	11.08	H	G	Rajput	DEO peon	11	49	8	68	37	S	P
13 Aradhna	VU16C	11	H	ST	Raj Gond	Labour	10	43	14	67	38	S	P
44 Boy		11.05	S	OBC	Sikli Gar	Iron sheets	18	34	13	65	39	S	P
47 Boy		10	H	OBC	Lodhi	Petrol pump	9	20	33	62	41	S	P
33 Boy		11.08	H	SC	Kori	DWL	5	45	12	62	40	S	P
38 Boy		12.05	H	SC	Mehtar	Rickshaw	11	34	15	60	42	S	P
55 Boy		13	H	OBC	BaRhai	Carpenter	6	33	19	58	44	S	P
31 Boy		11.04	H	SC	Pasi	Passed away	10	37	11	58	43	S	P
59 Boy		11.06	H	G	Rajput	DEO peon	13	21	21	55	46	F	
21 Sujata K	VA6A	10.1	H	OBC	Nai	Tailor (Prison)	10	36	9	55	45	S	P
1 Rashmi	VU14C	11.01	H	SC	Mehtar	Rickshaw	0	47	7	54	47	S	P
43 Boy		12.03	H	ST	Kahar	DWL	16	21	8	45	48	F	
42 Boy		11.03	S	OBC	Sikli Gar	Knives & pots	18	19	4	41	49	F	
37 Boy		11.01	H	SC	Balahi	Wood planer	5	5	18	28	51	F	
10 Suman	VU11A	11.04	H	SC	Balahi	Farming	5	18	5	28	50	F	
50 Boy		12.03	M	G	Kasai	Night guard	0	5	0	5	52	F	
27 Boy		12.03	H	SC	Katiya	Carpenter	0	3	0	3	53	F	
60 Boy		15.04	H	OBC	Mali	DWL	Private Student - passed					P	

**Continuation of Table 3 (pupils on roll, who never attended classes)**

53	Boy	11.02	H	G	Maratha		Never attended school	A
49	Boy	14	H	SC	Koli		Never attended school	A
35	Boy	13.09	H	SC	Balahi		Ran away	A
23	Girl	11.03	H	OBC	Teli	Went to village	Never attended school	A
16	Girl	10.01	H	OBC	Soni		Never attended school	A
19	Girl	11.03	H	OBC	Banjara	Labour	Never attended school	A

18.5 Table 4: Phase 3, Standard 8 pupil background data and board exam results

No Student	GURN	Age	R	Caste	Jati	Father wk	H	E	SK	M	SS	SC	Total	R8	O	S	*
13 Madhuri	SC11F	13.04	H	SC	Mehtar	Railway	76	61	65	74	69	39	384	1	P		
22 Boy		13.01	H	G	Jat	Farming	67	75	68	69	57	47	383	2	P		
25 Boy		13.07	H	OBC	Gujar	Tailor	68	67	66	88	44	36	369	3	P		
8 Kanchan G	SC6C	16.01	H	SC	Balahi	Postman	67	71	66	75	52	33	364	4	P		
1 Anamika	SC10F	12.10	H	OBC	Gujar		71	68	73	67	51	33	363	5	P		
10 Aruna	SC13I	13.01	H	OBC	Gujar	Panch sec.	67	79	62	67	49	33	357	6	P		
2 Chitra	SC4B	13.00	H	OBC	Teli	Labour	70	66	71	59	57	33	356	7	P		
18 Meena	SC14I	13.05	H	OBC	Teli	Farming	62	58	63	65	70	36	354	8	P		
39 Boy		15.01	H	G	Brahman	Farming	75	55	61	73	55	33	352	9	P		
5 Lajwanti S	SC2A	14.04	H	OBC	Teli	Farming	64	66	65	68	52	36	351	10	P		
11 Rakhi	SC15I	12.02	H	OBC	Gujar	Farming	71	67	61	64	53	35	351	11	P		
38 Boy		14.04	H	SC	Chamar	Gangman	65	58	60	68	62	37	350	12	P		
40 Boy		13.05	H	SC	Balahi	Railway	68	64	64	48	65	36	345	13	P		
3 Saroj	SC1A	14.01	H	OBC	Teli	Labour	60	57	62	62	54	33	328	14	P		
37 Boy		14.06	H	OBC	Gujar	Polishes Tiles	63	52	50	59	63	37	324	15	P		
27 Boy		13.01	H	OBC	Nai	Lineman	65	58	62	35	62	38	320	16	P		
32 Boy		13.11	H	OBC	Khati	MPEB	72	63	53	51	44	35	318	17	P		
23 Boy		16.01	H	G	Jat	Farming	65	52	51	74	48	23	313	18	S	F	T
4 Pratima	SC5C	12.09	H	G	Rajput	Farming	64	61	61	62	42	23	313	19	S	F	9
48 Boy		14.04	H	OBC	Gujar	Labour	64	43	54	70	47	33	311	20	P		
16 Bali	SI20G	13.10	H	G	Raghuvansi	Farming	60	41	61	59	54	33	308	21	P		
6 Lekha	SC9E	13.10	H	OBC	Kumhar	Tehsil clerk	67	50	59	55	53	23	307	22	S	F	9
43 Boy		12.01	H	OBC	Gujar	Truck driver	56	52	55	60	42	41	306	23	P		
21 Boy		15.06	H	OBC	Gujar	Farming	61	43	53	57	57	33	304	24	P		
12 Usha	SC8D	12.08	H	OBC	Gujar	Contractor	62	48	62	48	50	34	304	25	P		
17 Sharmila	SC12I	13.02	H	OBC	Gujar	Farming	51	50	60	66	59	17	303	26	S	F	L
26 Boy		13.01	H	G	Brahman	Farming	63	62	62	41	40	34	302	27	P		
36 Boy		14.01	H	SC	Balahi	Clerk PWD	63	43	46	51	64	33	300	28	P		
30 Boy		14.06	H	OBC	Khati	Carpenter	51	49	56	56	48	33	293	29	P		
7 Leela	SI17A	15.01	H	SC	Balahi	SC Priest	51	44	63	54	51	22	285	30	S	P	L
33 Boy		13.07	M	OBC	Pinjara	Farming	66	54	47	34	39	33	273	31	P		
31 Boy		13.01	H	OBC	Khati	Carpenter	53	51	50	37	43	35	269	32	P		
28 Boy		13.02	H	OBC	Gujar	Farming	54	48	53	39	51	23	268	33	S	P	9
14 Alka	SC7D	16.10	H	OBC	Gujar	Contractor	46	20	57	51	55	33	262	34	S	P	9
24 Boy		13.05	H	OBC	Gujar	MPEB	58	40	60	43	37	21	259	35	S	F	9
41 Boy		14.07	H	SC	Balahi	Gateman	50	41	47	42	33	38	251	36	P		
34 Boy		16.05	H	OBC	Khati	Carpenter	58	33	50	33	42	33	249	37	P		
9 Lajwanti C	SU16A	16.01	H	SC	Chamar	Farming	51	55	52	19	52	19	248	38	S	F	M
29 Boy		17.01	H	G	Brahman	Labour	62	37	48	18	47	33	245	39	S	F	9
42 Boy		13.01	H	OBC	Gujar	Farming	50	39	51	48	18	33	239	40	S	P	9
35 Boy		12.05	H	SC	Balahi	Farming	58	40	34	16	48	40	236	41	S	P	9
47 Boy		15.02	H	OBC	Dhobi	Farming	58	19	50	18	48	33	226	42	S	F	9
19 Jagruti	SC3A	15.06	H	OBC	Teli	Tents	35	41	47	50	42	11	226	43	S	F	M
15 Damini S	SI18A	14.01	H	OBC	Kumhar	Labour	60	36	48	AB	42	23	209	44	S	F	M
20 Kanchan B	SI19C	15.01	H	OBC	Nath	Farming	45	33	37	39	33	6	193	45	S	F	M
46 Boy		13.05	H	G	Brahman	Farming	56	11	40	44	20	17	188	46	F		
50 Boy		14.07	H	G	Brahman	Post-Office	49	15	36	8	39	33	180	47	S	F	T
44 Boy		15.05	H	OBC	Sutar	Carpenter	38	34	36	10	18	22	158	48	F		
45 Boy		17.01	H	OBC	Teli	Sells veg	25	42	24	10	34	16	151	49	F		
49 Boy		17.06	H	SC	Balahi	Factory	33	15	35	6	33	20	142	50	F		



18.6 Table 5: Percentage marks at subjects failed at first attempt (both phases)

Standard 5				
Cohort 2		Marks – in %		
Student	H	M	EVS	T
Bov	13			
Bov	19			
Girl	10		16	
Girl	6		22	
Girl	7			
Girl	10		24	
Bov	14	23		
Subjects failed	H	M	EVS	T
No. pupils failing	7	1	3	11
No. papers written				126
% papers failed				9%

Standard 8							
Cohort 2		Marks – in %					
Student	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	T
Bov		28	28		22		
Bov		22	17	21			
Bov	26	18	27	11			
Subjects failed	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	T
No. pupils failing	1	3	3	2	1	0	10
No. papers written							246
% papers failed							4%

Standard 5				
Cohort 3		Marks – in %		
Student	H	M	EVS	T
Sudha Kaithwas			25	
Parul Kaithwas	21			
Kamini Kalsi	15			
Rani Kaithwas			23	
Bov	21			
Bina Phurvi	11		20	
Kanchan Kaithwas	16		21	
Bov	20		24	
Bov	13			
ov	21	29		
Bov	17		21	
Anu Khan	17		18	
Bov	21		22	
Bov	20		9	
Bov	20		11	
Bov	14		19	
Damini Gehlot	5		21	
Damini Chandel	11		8	
Aradhna Uikev	10		14	
Bov	18		13	
Bov	9	20		
Bov	5		12	
Bov	11		15	
Bov	6		19	
Bov	10		11	
Bov	13	21	21	
Suiata Khorev	10		9	
Rashmi Dohar	0		7	
Bov	16	21	8	
Bov	18	19	4	
Bov	5	5	18	
Suman Gehlot	5	18	5	
Bov	0	5	0	
Bov	0	3	0	
Subjects failed	H	M	EVS	T
No. pupils failing	32	9	28	69
No. papers written				162
% papers failed				43%

Standard 8							
Cohort 3		Marks – in %					
Student	H	E	Sk	M	SS	Sc	T
Bov						23	
Pratima Singh						23	
Lekha Sutar						23	
Sharmila Khorev						17	
Leela Rehlot						22	
Bov						23	
Alka Khorev		20					
Bov						21	
Laiwanti Chaudri				19		19	
Bov				18			
Bov					18		
Bov				16			
Bov		19		18			
Iagruti Sahu						11	
Damini Sutar				AB		23	
Kanchan Banwar						6	
Bov		11			20	17	
Bov		15		8			
Bov				10	18	22	
Bov	25		24	10		16	
Bov		15		6		20	

## Thesis Bookmark Side A: Teachers

### Teachers' involvement in the study (Chapter 4, Table 1)

'Disengaged'			'Constrained'			'Engaged'		
8 men: 6 Vidya 2 Sagar			8 women: all Vidya			4 men (1:V 1:S 2:T) 4 women (2:V 2:S)		
<i>Rakesh Chaturvedi</i>	M	V	<i>Sarita Dharey</i>	F	V	<b>Deepak Patodia: 1</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>V</b>
<i>Ramesh Ahiwar</i>	M	AHT-V	<i>Minakshi Kajwey</i>	F	V	<b>Sanni Kevat: 2</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>T:V</b>
M. Khan	M	HT-V	Kusu Upadhyay	F	V	<b>Santosh Pandey: 3</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>AHT-S</b>
Raju Sisodia	M	V	Uma Badhai	F	V	<b>Rounak Tiwari: 4</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>S</b>
Ajit Daley	M	V	Shalini Sharma	F	V	<b>Seema Dhakley: 5</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>S</b>
Rahul Mani	M	V	Tamana Shukla	F	V	<b>Lalit Varma: 6</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>T:S</b>
Shailesh Chaubey	M	S	Rajni Makvey	F	V	<i>Mohini Singh: 7</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>V</i>
<b>Durgesh Sankarey</b>	M	HT-S	Kalyani Gadri	F	V	<i>Anu Uikey: 8</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>V</i>

V - Vidya, S - Sagar, P - (private) tuition tutors, HT - Head-teacher, AHT - Acting Head Teacher, FC - Focus Class, F - Female, M - Male. The 12 teachers in italics were more involved. The six in final column, in bold, were associated with the two focus classes, and the most involved.

Of these six teachers, the three teachers in shaded boxes are the focus of Chapter 9.

### Teacher background: Vidya; Sagar; private tuition (Appendix 14, Table 1)

T.U.R.N.	Name	Ph 3	S	SG	TT	A	Ex	FE	ME	M	Ek	I	O
<b>Vidya Primary School</b>													
<b>VME1</b>	<b>Deepak Patodia</b>	5	M	SC	PT	25	4	11		S	A	5	31
VFE7	Mohini Singh	1	F	Ot	ET	36	13	4	3	M	Y	3	7
VFE8	Anu Uikey	1	F	ST	ET	34	14	1	1	M	Y	3	4
VFC9	Minakshi Kajwey	3	F	Ot	ET	38	18			M	Y	1	3
VFC10	Sarita Dharey	5	F	SC	PT	41	6			W	N	1	3
VMD11~AHT	Ramesh Ahiwar	3	M	SC	ET	45	20	1	1	M	A	2	1
VMD12	Rakesh Chaturvedi	4	M	Ot	ET	42	16	6	0	M	RT	3	4
VFC13	Kusu Upadhyay	2	F	Ot	ET	47	21			M	A	0	1
VFC14	Rajni Makvey	2	F	Ot	ET	47	19			M	Y	0	3
VMD15	Ajit Daley	2	M	Ot	ET	47	23				A	0	
VFC16	Kalyani Gadri	3	F	O	ET	53	28			M	RT	0	1
VFC17	Tamana Shukla	4	F	Ot	ET	45	22				A	0	2
VMD18	Raju Sisodia	4	M	Ot	ET	37	9				A	0	3
VFC19	Uma Badhai	5	F	O	ET	44	16			S	A	0	2
VMD20	Rahul Mani	Ab	M	Ot	PT	25	4				n/a	0	2
VMD21~HT	Mohamed Khan	*R	M	Ot	ET		24+			M	RT	0	1
VFC22	Shalini Sharma	*PA	F	Ot	ET					M	A	0	2
<b>Private tuition tutors</b>													
<b>TVME2</b>	<b>Sanni Kevat</b>	Any	M	O	Pri	30	8	2	n/a	M	N	2	4
<b>TSME6</b>	<b>Lalit Varma</b>	1 to 8	M	O	Pri	37	17	11	4	M	N	2	4
<b>Sagar Middle School</b>													
<b>SME3~AHT</b>	<b>Santosh Pandey</b>	6,7,8	M	Ot	ET	55	32	G	6	M	RT	2	24
<b>SFE4</b>	<b>Rounak Tiwari</b>	6,7,8	F	Ot	ET	45	23	10	4	S	RT	6	23
<b>SFE5</b>	<b>Secma Dhakley</b>	6,7,8	F	SC	PT	33	6	11	0	M	N	2	8
SMD23	Shailesh Chaubey	6,7,8	M	Ot	ET	58	35			M	Y	0	2
SMD24~HT	Durgesh Sankherey	*R	M	O	ET		24+				Y	0	5

**Key** (No entry means information not available)

Std Standard taught in Phase 3

S Sex

SG Social Group - as student classifications: ST/SC/OBC/Other

A Age in March 2003

TT Type of teacher (ET- Established-teacher. PT Para-teacher).

Ex Teaching experience (in years)

FE Father's education: (Years. G - Graduate. I- Illiterate)

ME Mother's education: (Years. G - Graduate. I- Illiterate)

T.U.R.N. = Teacher Unique Reference Number.

M Marital status. M - Married, S - Single, W- Widowed.

Ek Experience of Eklavya - Y/N, RT, or A.

(RT- Resource Teacher, A-aware, but not involved).

I Number of interviews

O Number of observations

\*PA Passed away

\*R Retired by Phase 3

\*Ab Absent for Phase 3

## Thesis bookmark, Side B: Girls and families

### Families and girls' educational aspirations (Chapter 7, Table 8)

Girls are presented according to family educational aspirational groups. Girls' aspirational groups are indicated in the right hand column (for each school).

Vidya - post-Standard 5 aspirations								Sagar – post-Standard 8 aspirations							
Girls		C	IG	QR	A	F	G	Girls		C	IG	7R	A	F	G
<b>Family – 'Confident'</b>								<b>Family – 'Confident'</b>							
VC1B	Sunanda Prasad (S)	OBC	B	4	13	0	P	SC1A	Saroj Sahu	OBC	A	10	14	4	P
VC2C	Priya Gehlot	SC	C	16	10?	0	P	SC2A	Lajwanti Sahu	OBC	A	4	14	3	P
VC3C	Shobha Gehlot	SC	C	25	10	0	P	SC3A	Jagruti Sahu	OBC	A	44	15	3	P
VC2C	Reena Singh	G	C	2	12	0	P	SC4B	Chitra Sahu	OBC	B	9	13	0	P
VC5E	Aruna Kaithwas	SC	E	39	11	5	P	SC5C	Pratima Singh	G	C	21	12?	0	P
<b>Family – 'Aspirational'</b>								SC6C	Kanchan Gourey	SC	C	5	16	3	P
VA6A	Sujata Khorey	OBC	A	48	12	5	P	SC7D	Alka Khorey	OBC	D	41	16	5	P
VA7A	Ananya Kaithwas	SC	A	8	11	0	P	SC8D	Usha Chhalotrey	OBC	D	25	12?	0	P
VA8B	Ananya Nuikey	SC	B	29	10	0	P	SC9E	Lekha Sutar	OBC	E	17	13	0	P
VA9B	Sujata Saini	OBC	B	11	12	0	P	SC10F	Anamika Khorey	OBC	F	2	12?	0	P
<b>Family – 'Undermined'</b>								SC11F	Madhuri Sarvan	SC	F	11	13	0	P
VU10A	Bina Phurvi	ST	A	46	12	5	U	SC12I	Sharmila Khorey	OBC	I	33	13	0	P
VU11A	Suman Gehlot	SC	A	n/a	11	4	U	SC13I	Aruna Chhalotrey	OBC	I	18	13	0	P
VU12A	Damini Gehlot	SC	A	32	12	4	U	SC14I	Meena Sahu	OBC	I	24	13	3	P
VU13B	Rewa Prasad (S)	OBC	B	7	15	0	*1 U	SC15I	Rakhi Khorey	OBC	I	16	12?	0	P
VU14C	Rashmi Dohar	SC	C	34	11?	1&5	C	<b>Family – 'Undermined'</b>							
VU15C	Parul Kaithwas	SC	C	40	14	5x2	U	SU16A	Lajwanti Chaudri	SC	A	28	16	0	U
VU16C	Aradhna Uikey	ST	C	45	13	5	U	<b>Family – 'Indifferent'</b>							
VU17C	Anu Khan	M-OBC	C	51	12	5	U	SI17A	Leela Rehlot	SC	A	38	15	4	R
VU18C	Kamini Kalsi	S-OBC	C	50	12	5	U	SI18A	Damini Sutar	OBC	A	29	14	0	U
VU19D	Kanchan Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	18	13	0	*2 C	SI19C	Kanchan Banwar	OBC	C	n/a	15	5	T
VU20D	Rani Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	31	11	0	*2 C	SI20G	Bali Singh	G	G	34	13?	0	T
VU21D	Sudha Kaithwas (S)	SC	D	21	11	0	*2 C								
VU22D	Damini Chandel	G	D	n/a	11	5	U								

#### Key

C Caste (G – General Caste, M – Muslim, S – Sikh).

IG Income Group

QR/7R Rank in quarterly or Standard 7 exams – (Std 5 out of 55 students, Std 8/7 out of 50).

Age Girls' age according to register (If followed by a question mark, stated age seemed unlikely)

F Classes failed

G Girls' Aspirations: 'Positive', 'Confused', 'Undermined', 'Resistant', (Emotionally) 'Torn'.

(S) The girl has a sister in the class. Sunanda and Rewa Prasad were sisters, as were Kanchan, Rani and Sudha Kaithwas.

Girls in shaded boxes were married a year after the fieldwork ended.



## Bibliography

- Agarwal, B. (2000), 'The Idea of Gender Inequality: From Legislative Visions to Everyday Family Practice'. In R. Thapar (ed.), *India: Another Millennium?* New Delhi: Penguin.
- Aggrawal, Y. (2001), *DPEP 2001: Progress Towards Universal Access and Retention* (CD ROM). New Delhi: NIEPA.
- Agnihotri, R. K., Khanna, A. L., Shukla, S., Batra, P. and Sarangapani, P. (1994), *Prashika: Eklavya's Innovative Experiment in Primary Education*. New Delhi: Ratna Sagar.
- Altman, D. (1972), *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
- Anitha, B. K. (2000), *Village, Caste and Education*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Annamalai, M. (2002), *Dalit Rights and Issues*. (Retrieved from [www.indiatogether.org/dalit](http://www.indiatogether.org/dalit). Consulted 5.7.03).
- Apple, M. (2001), 'Comparing Neo-Liberal Projects and Inequality in Education'. *Comparative Education*, 37:4, 409-523.
- Apple, M. W. (1995), *Education and Power*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Arnot, M., David, M. and Weiner, G. (eds) (1999), *Closing the Gender Gap*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Arnot, M. and Dillabough, J-A. (eds) (2000), *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (eds) (1995), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Athreya, V. B. and Chunkath, S. R. (1996), *Literacy and Empowerment*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Balgopalan, S. (2003), 'Neither Suited for the Home nor for the Fields': Inclusion, Formal Schooling and the Adivasi Child'. *IDS Bulletin*, 34:1 *Education Inclusion and Exclusion: Indian and South African Perspectives*, 55-62.
- Balgopalan, S. and Subrahmanian, R. (2003), 'Dalit and Adivasi Children in Schools: Some Preliminary Research Themes and Findings'. *IDS Bulletin*, 34:1 *Education Inclusion and Exclusion: Indian and South African Perspectives*, 43-54.
- Banerji, R. (1997), 'Why Don't Children Complete Primary Schooling? A Case Study of a Low Income Neighbourhood in Delhi'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25:9-15, 2053-63.
- Bardhan, K. (ed.) (1990), *Of Women, Outcastes, Peasants and Rebels: A Selection of Bengali Short Stories*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bashir, S. (2000), *Government Expenditure on Elementary Education in the Nineties*. New Delhi: European Commission.
- Bayly, S. (1999), *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beaudoin, H. (1998a), *Equality in Education: A Course Designed for Teacher Education. Student Manual*. Toronto: Ontario Association of Deans of Education/Ontario Women's Directorate.
- Beaudoin, H. (1998b), *Equality in Education: A Course Designed for Teacher Education. Teacher's Guide*. Toronto: Ontario Association of Deans of Education/Ontario Women's Directorate.
- Bell, S., Morrow, M. and Tastsoglou, E. (1999), 'Teaching in Environments of Resistance: Towards a Critical, Feminist and Anti-Racist Pedagogy'. In M. Mayberry and E. C. Rose (eds), *Meeting the Challenge: Innovative Feminist Pedagogies in Action*. New York: Routledge.
- Benyon, C., Coulter, R., Harper, H. and Wallace, J. (1998a), *Taking Action: Negotiating Power Relations in the Practicum (Video and Manual)*. Toronto: Ontario Association of Deans of Education/Ontario Women's Directorate.
- Benyon, C., Coulter, R., Harper, H. and Wallace, J. (1998b), *Taking Action: Reworking Gender in School Contexts (Video and Manual)*. Toronto: Ontario Association of Deans of Education/Ontario Women's Directorate.
- BERA. (1992), *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*. Retrieved from <http://www.bera.ac.uk/beradev2002/root/publications/guides.php>. Consulted 11.12.04).
- Bernstein, B. (1996), *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Bhattacharjee, N. (1999), 'Through the Looking Glass: Gender Socialisation in a Primary School'. In T. S. Saraswathi (ed.), *Culture, Socialisation and Human Development. Theory, Research and Applications in India* (pp. 336-355). New Delhi: Sage.

- Bhog, D. (2002), 'Gender and Curriculum'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37:17, 1638-1642.
- Bhogle, S. (1999), 'Gender Roles: The Construct in the Indian Context'. In T. S. Saraswathi (ed.), *Culture, Socialisation and Human Development. Theory, Research and Applications in India* (pp. 278-300). New Delhi: Sage.
- Bishop, R. (1998), 'Freeing Ourselves from Neo-Colonial Domination in Research: A Maori Approach to Creating Knowledge'. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11, 199-219.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990), *The Logic of Practice* [1980]. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.-C. (1977), *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society* [1970]. London: Sage.
- Brooker, L. (2000), *Pedagogy, Class and Culture: A Study of Young Children's Learning at Home and School*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: Institute of Education, University of London.
- Brooker, L. (2002), *Starting School: Young Children Learning Cultures*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bumiller, E. (1991), *May You be the Mother of a Hundred Sons: A Journey Among the Women of India*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Burton, C. (1987), 'Merit and Gender: Organisations and the Mobilisation of Masculine Bias'. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 22, 424-435.
- Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993), *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997a), *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997b), *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjectivity*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.
- Carrigan, T., Connell, R. and Lee, J. (1985), 'Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity'. *Theory and Society*, 14, 551-604.
- Chakravarty, U. (1998a), 'Inventing Saffron History: A Celibate Hero Rescues an Emasculated Nation'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence: The Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Chakravarty, U. (1998b), *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Chakravaty, U. (1993), 'Conceptualising Brahmanic Patriarchy in Early India'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 3,.
- Chege, F. (2004), *Teachers' Gendered lives, HIV/AIDS and Pedagogy*. Paper presented to the Second Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access Seminar, 2-3 February 2004, Nairobi, Kenya (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Chege%20paper.pdf>. Consulted 24.3.05).
- Chhachhi, A. (1994), 'Identity Politics (South Asia)'. In K. Bhasin, R. Menon and N. Said Khan (eds), *Against All Odds: Essays on Women, Religion and Development from India and Pakistan*. ISIS, Kali for Women, SAWF.
- Chikarmane, P. (1999), 'Too Big for their Boots: Women and the Policing of Violence Against Women'. In N. Kabeer and R. Subrahmanian (eds), *Institutions, Relations, Outcomes*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Choksi, A. and Dyer, C. (1997), 'North-South Collaboration in Educational Research: Reflections on Indian Experience'. In M. Crossley and G. Vulliamy (eds), *Qualitative Educational Research in Developing Countries: Current Perspectives*. New York: Garland.
- Chopra, R. and Jeffrey, P. (eds) (2005), *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Chowdhury, S. (2000), *Universal Elementary Education in Rajasthan (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Chowdry, P. (1998), 'Enforcing Cultural Codes: Gender and Violence in Northern India'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence? The Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Clarke, P. (2001), *Teaching and Learning: The Culture of Pedagogy*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Coffey, A. (1999), *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*. London: Sage.
- Coffey, A. and Delamont, S. (2000), *Feminism and the Classroom Teacher*. London: Routledge/Falmer.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994), *Research Methods in Education*. London: Routledge.

- Connell, R. W. (1987), *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W. (2002), *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dabbe, V. (1999), 'In Search of a Relevant Past'. In R. Indira and D. K. Behera (eds), *Gender and Society in India* (Vol. I, ). New Delhi: Manak Publications.
- Das, G. (2002), *India Unbound: From Independence to the Global Information Age*. London: Profile Books.
- Davies, B. (2003), *Shards of Glass: Children Reading and Writing Beyond Gendered Identities*. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- De, A., Majumdar, M., Samson, M. and Noronha, C. (2000), *Role of Private Schools in Basic Education (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Derbyshire, H. (2002), *Gender Manual: A Training Guide for Development Policy Makers and Practitioners*. London: DFID.
- Derné, S. (1994), 'Arranging Marriages: How Fathers' Concerns Limit Women's Educational Achievements'. In C. Mukhopadhyay and S. Seymour (eds), *Women, Education and Family Structure in India* (pp. 83-103). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Deveaux, M. (1994), 'Feminism and Empowerment: A Critical Reading of Foucault'. *Feminist Studies*, 2,.
- Dhruvarajan, V. (1999), 'Hinduism and the Empowerment of Women'. In R. Indira and D. K. Behera (eds), *Gender and Society in India* (Vol. I, pp. 33-49). New Delhi: Manak Publications.
- Dighe, A. (2000), *Social Mobilization and Total Literacy Campaigns (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Dillabough, J. (1999), 'Gender Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher: Women, Identity and Professionalism'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20:3, 373-394.
- Drèze, J. and Gazdar, H. (1996), 'Uttar Pradesh: Burden of Inertia'. In j. Dreze and A. Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives* (pp. 33-108). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Drèze, J. and Sen, A. (2002), *India: Development and Participation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dube, L. (1988), 'On the Construction of Gender: Hindu Girls in Patrilineal India'. In K. Chanana (ed.), *Socialisation, Education and Women*. London: Sangam.
- Dube, L. (1996), 'Caste and Women'. In M. N. Srinivas (ed.), *Caste: its Twentieth Century Avatar*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Dyer, C. (1996), 'Primary Teachers and Policy Innovation in India: Some Neglected Issues'. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 16, 27-40.
- Dyer, C. and Choksi, A. (1997), *District Institutes of Education and Training: A Comparative Study in Three Indian States*. Manchester: University of Manchester.
- EdCIL. (1998a), *Access and Retention: The Impact of DPEP. National Overview* (Published Report ). New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
- EdCIL. (1998b), *DPEP Moves On: Towards Universalising Primary Education*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
- EdCIL. (1998c), *Three Years of DPEP and Learners' Achievement: An Overview* (Published Report ). New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
- EdCIL. (1998d), *Three Years of DPEP: Assessment and Challenges* (Published Report ). New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
- EdCil. (1999a), *Options for Change: Innovations and Experiments in the District Primary Education Programme*. New Delhi: EdCil.
- EdCil. (1999b), *Reaching Out Further: Para Teachers in Primary Education*. New Delhi: EdCil.
- EdCil. (2000), *Bringing Girls Centrestage: Strategies and Interventions for Girls' Education in DPEP*. New Delhi: EdCil.
- EdCil. (2001), *Inside the School: A Synthesis of Case Studies of Classroom Processes*. New Delhi: EdCil.
- Eklavya. (1985), *Teaching of Science: Report and Recommendations of the National Seminar on Teaching Science held at Bhopal, November 15-17 1985*. Bhopal: Eklavya.

- Eklavya. (1997), *Responding to a Climate of Change: A Five Year Proposal Submitted by the Eklavya Group for the Period 1997-2002 to Ministry of Human Resource Development Under its Scheme of Experimental and Innovative Programmes (Unpublished proposal)*. Bhopal: Eklavya.
- Eklavya. (1999), *Eklavya: A Profile*. Bhopal: Eklavya.
- Eklavya. (2001a), *Looking Back to the Future: A Triannual Report of the Eklavya Foundation for the Years 1998-2001*. Bhopal: Eklavya.
- Eklavya. (2001b), *Teaching Social Sciences in Middle Schools: The Experience of Eklavya's Social Science Teaching Programme - Expert Review and Documentation (Unpublished Report)*. Bhopal: Eklavya.
- Eklavya. (2002a), *Thirty Years of Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme, 1972-2002: A Review*. (Retrieved from <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/HSTPNote.pdf>. Consulted 2.11.04).
- Eklavya. (2002b), *Towards Quality Education for All: Concept Paper on Collaboration between Eklavya and Government of Madhya Pradesh*. (Retrieved from [http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/concept\\_note\\_Oct3.pdf](http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/concept_note_Oct3.pdf). Consulted 2.11.04).
- Ellsworth, E. (1989), 'Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy'. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59:3, 197-224.
- Elson, D. (2002), 'Gender Justice, Human Rights and Neo-liberal Economic Policies'. In M. Molyneux and S. Razavi (eds), *Gender Justice, Development and Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faludi, S. (1992), *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women*. London: Vintage.
- FAWE. (1999), *Girls' Education: An Agenda for Change*. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists.
- FAWE. (2001a), *In Search of an Ideal School for Girls*. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists.
- FAWE. (2001b), *Promoting Girls' Education Through Community Participation: A Case Study in Kenya (Best Practice - Paper 1 - June 2001)*. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists.
- FAWE. (2002), *The ABC of Gender Responsive Education Policies. Guidelines for Developing Education for All Action Plans*. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists.
- Foucault, M. (1977), *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction* Robert Hurley, trans. New York: Pantheon (French edition 1976).
- Foucault, M. (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* Colin Gordon et al., trans. London: Harvester.
- Franco, F., Macwan, J. and Ramanathan, S. (eds) (2000), *The Silken Swing: The Cultural Universe of Dalit Women*. Calcutta: Stree.
- Fukuda-Parr, S. (2002), *Operationalising Amartya Sen's ideas on capabilities, development, freedom and human rights: the shifting policy focus of the human development approach*. (Retrieved from <http://www.nu.or.cr/pnud/docs/fukuda-parr3.pdf>. Consulted 1.3.05).
- FWCW Beijing. (1995a), *Fourth World Conference on Women: Beijing Declaration*. (Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declar.htm>. Consulted 15.9.04).
- FWCW Beijing. (1995b), *Fourth World Conference on Women: Platform for Action*. (Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat1.htm>. Consulted 15.9.04).
- Ganesh, K. and Risseuw, C. (1998), 'Introduction: Gendered Change in Marriage and Family: A Policy Concern'. In C. Risseuw and K. Ganesh (eds), *Negotiation and Social Space: A Gendered Analysis of Changing Kin and Security Networks in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 11-43). New Delhi: Sage.
- Ganguly-Scrase, R. (1997), 'Social Justice and the Micropolitics of Schooling in India'. In T. J. Scrase (ed.), *Social Justice and Third World Education*. New York: Garland.
- Geetha, V. (1998), 'On Bodily Love and Hurt'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence? The Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- George, S. and Jain, S. (2000), *Exposing the Illusion of the Campaign for the Fundamental Right to Education*. (Retrieved from [http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/exposing\\_the\\_illusion.html](http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/exposing_the_illusion.html). Consulted 14.11.04).
- Ghosh, S. C. (1993), 'English in Taste, in Opinions, in Words and Intellect: Indoctrinating the Indian Through Textbook, Curriculum and Education'. In J. A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial*

*Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience* (pp. 175-193). London: Routledge.

Global Campaign for Education. (2003), *A Fair Chance: Attaining Gender Equality in Basic Education by 2005*. City not mentioned: Global Campaign for Education.

Goetz, A.-M. (ed.) (1997), *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed.

Gokhale, N. (1998), *Mountain Echoes: Reminiscences of Kumaoni Women*. Lotus: New Delhi.

Gopalakrishnan, R., Secretary to the Chief Minister, Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002), *Rejection of the Curriculum of Eklavya Implemented by it in the Districts of Hoshangabad, by the District Planning Committee of Hoshangabad: Report on Assessment of Performance and Options*. (Retrieved from <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/HSTPReport.htm>. Consulted 28.10.04).

Government of India. (1971), *Report of the Education Commission, 1964-1966: Education and National Development (Kothari)*. New Delhi: Ministry of Education.

Government of India. (1992a), *National Policy on Education 1986 (With Modifications Undertaken in 1992)*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India. (1992b), *National Policy on Education 1986: Programme of Action 1992*. New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India. (1994), *Education For All: The Indian Scene*. New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development: Department of Education.

Government of India. (1997), *DPEP Guidelines*. (Second ed.). New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India. (2000), *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan: A Programme for Universal Elementary Education in India*. New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India. (2001a), *Census of India 2001, Series 1, Provisional Populations Totals, Paper 1 of 2*. Delhi: Controller of Publications, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India.

Government of India. (2001b), *National Policy for the Empowerment of Women*. New Delhi: Department of Women and Child Development (Retrieved from [www.wcd.nic.in](http://www.wcd.nic.in). Consulted 16.5.03).

Government of India. (2001c), *Working Group Report on Elementary and Adult Education: Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007)*. New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, MHRD.

Government of India. (2002a), *Education for All: National Plan of Action*. New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development (Retrieved from [www.ssa.nic.in/efa.asp](http://www.ssa.nic.in/efa.asp). Consulted on 26.9.04. Publication date not given).

Government of India. (2002b), *Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) Volume I: Dimensions and Strategies*. New Delhi: Planning Commission.

Government of India. (2002c), *Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) Volume II: Sectoral Policies and Programmes*. New Delhi: Planning Commission.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1995), *Madhya Pradesh Policy for Women, 1995-2000*. Bhopal: Department of Women and Child Development (Retrieved from [www.mpinfo.org/english/policies/women/womenindex.htm](http://www.mpinfo.org/english/policies/women/womenindex.htm). Consulted 1.5.03).

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1996), *DPEP Madhya Pradesh: Annual Report 1995-96 (Annual Report)*. Bhopal: Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1998a), *The Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report 1998*. Bhopal: Directorate of Institutional Finance.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1998b), *Syllabi for the Competency Based Curriculum in Language, Mathematics and Environment Studies of Class 1 to 4 of Primary Schools, Madhya Pradesh Gazetteer (Extraordinary) Dated 20 April 1998*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1999a), *The Madhya Pradesh Gazetteer (Extraordinary) Dated 06 August 1999*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (1999b), *Syllabi for the Competency Based Curriculum in Language, Mathematics and Environment Studies of Class 5 of Primary Schools, Madhya Pradesh Gazetteer (Extraordinary) Dated 26 April 1999*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.

Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2000a), *Curriculum for Elementary Education*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.



- Government of Madhya Pradesh (ed.) (2000b), *From Your School To Our School: Education Guarantee Scheme*. Bhopal: Madhyam, for Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2000c), *Prescription of Textbooks for Class 1 to 5 for Primary Schools in the State, Madhya Pradesh Gazetteer (Extraordinary) Dated 08 September 2000*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2001), *Universalising Elementary Education in Nakuur: Project Proposal*. Nakuur: District Education Office.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002a), *Lok Sampak Abhiyan District Data Extracts: Nakuur District (Unpublished)*. Bhopal: Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002b), *Lok Sampak Abhiyan Village Education Register: Sagar and Amba 2000-2002*. Sagar: Sagar School Jan Shiksha Kendra.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002c), *The Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report 2002*. Bhopal: Directorate of Institutional Finance, Government of Madhya Pradesh.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002d), *Madhya Pradesh Jan Shiksha Adhiniyam 2002*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002e), *Madhya Pradesh State Policy for Women and Programme of Action, 2002 (Draft Prepared by Task Force Established by the State Government, Chaired by Nirmala Bauch)*. Bhopal: Mahila Chetna Manch.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002f), *Note on Issues raised by Eklavya on HSTP in its letter dated 8 July 2002*. (Retrieved from <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/eklavya-note.html>. Consulted 2.11.04).
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2002g), *Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission*. Bhopal: (Retrieved from <http://www.mp.nic.in/rgm/shiksha.htm>. Consulted 21.5.03).
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2003a), *Madhya Pradesh Jan Shiksha Niyam 2003*. Bhopal: Government of Madhya Pradesh.
- Government of Madhya Pradesh. (2003b), *Madhya Pradesh Policy for Women 2003-2007*. Bhopal: Department of Women and Child Welfare.
- Govinda, R. (2000), *Year 2000 Education for All Assessment: India*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Govinda, R. (2003), 'Making Basic Education Work for the Poor: Experiences from the South'. *IDS Bulletin*, 34:1 *Education Inclusion and Exclusion: Indian and South African Perspectives*, 81-89.
- Govinda, R. and Buch, M. B. (1990), 'Indian Research in Teacher Education: A Review'. In R. Tisher and M. Wideen (eds), *Research In Teacher Education: International Perspectives*. Basingstoke: The Falmer Press.
- Gupta, D. (2000), *Interrogating Caste: Understanding Hierarchy and Difference in India Society*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Gupta, J. (1999), *Human Rights and Working Women*. New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Gupta, P., Joshi, A. and Crumpton, B. (2000), 'Learning for Life in the Hills: A Community School Experiment (A Case Study from SIDH, India)'. In M. Molteno, K. Ogadhoh, E. Cain and B. Crumpton (eds), *Towards Responsive Schools: Supporting Better Schooling for Disadvantaged Children (Case Studies from Save the Children)*. London: DFID.
- Habermas, J. (1976), *Legitimation Crisis*. London: Heinemann.
- Haggis, S. M. (ed.) (1995), *The EFA Teacher Training Package, Volume 1*. Paris: UNESCO/UNDP.
- Hammersley, M. (1992), *What's wrong with ethnography?* London: Open University Press.
- Haq, H. u. (1995), *Reflections on Human Development*. New York: OUP.
- Harris, M. (1998), *Gender Sensitivity in Primary School Mathematics in India*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Heward, C. and Bunwaree, S. (eds) (1999), *Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment*. London: Zed.
- Holland, D. and Lave, J. (eds) (2001), *Histry in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*. (Vol. Santa Fe and Oxford). Oxford: School of American Research Press and James Currey Ltd.
- Holquist, M. (1990), *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his World*. London: Routledge.

- IIPS and ORC Macro. (2000), *National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2), 1998-99: India*. Mumbai: International Institute for Population Sciences.
- IIPS and ORC Macro. (2001), *National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2), 1998-99: Madhya Pradesh*. Mumbai: International Institute for Population Sciences.
- Jayaweera, S. (1999), 'Gender, Education, Development: Sri Lanka'. In C. Heward and S. Bunwaree (eds), *Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment*. London: Zed.
- Jeffrey, C., Jeffrey, R. and Jeffrey, P. (2005), 'Broken Trajectories: Dalit Young Men and Formal Education'. In R. Chopra and P. Jeffrey (eds), *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Jha, J. and Jhingran, D. (2002), *Elementary Education for the Poorest and other Deprived Groups: The Real Challenge of Universalisation*. New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.
- Jogan, S. (1999), 'Sex Workers in Bangalore: A Socio-Economic Profile'. In R. Indira and D. K. Behera (eds), *Gender and Society in India: Volume I Theme Papers and Urban Studies*. New Delhi: Manak.
- John, M. E. (1998), 'Globalisation, Sexuality and the Visual Field: Issues and Non-Issues for Cultural Critique'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence? The Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Joint Action Committee. (2000), 'Negotiating Gender and Caste: A Struggle in Hyderabad Central University'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 28, 3845-3848.
- Joint Review Mission. (2001), *DPEP JRM Report: Part 1: Progress Overview*. New Delhi: Government of India, DEEL.
- Kabeer, N. (1994), *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso.
- Kabeer, N. (1999a), 'From Feminist Insights to an Analytical Framework: An Institutional Perspective on Gender Inequality'. In N. Kabeer and R. Subrahmanian (eds), *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: A Framework and Case Studies for Gender-Aware Planning* (pp. 3-48). New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Kabeer, N. (1999b), 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment'. *Development and Change*, 30, 435-464.
- Kabeer, N., Nambissan, G. B. and Subrahmanian, R. (eds) (2003), *Child Labour and The Right to Education in South Asia: Needs versus Rights*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Kabeer, N. and Subrahmanian, R. (eds) (1999), *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: A Framework and Case Studies for Gender-Aware Planning*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Kalia, N. N. (1979), *Sexism in Indian Education*. New Delhi: Vikas.
- Karlekar, M. (2000), 'Girls' Access to Schooling'. In R. Wazir (ed.), *The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Kaul, V., Gupta, D., Gupta, V., Varma, S. and Bala, N. (1998), *Textbooks with a Difference*. New Delhi: NCERT (Dept. of Pre-School and Elementary Education).
- Khandekar, S. (2001), *Women's Movement Emerging out of Literacy Campaigns in a Mumbai Slum: Analysis of Actions and Reactions (Unpublished MA thesis)*. University of London: Institute of Education.
- Khosla, D. N. (ed.) (1998a), *Competency Based and Commitment Oriented Teacher Education for Quality School Education: Initiation Document*. New Delhi: NCTE.
- Khosla, D. N. (ed.) (1998b), *Competency Based and Commitment Oriented Teacher Education School Education: In-service Education*. New Delhi: NCTE.
- Khosla, D. N. (ed.) (1998c), *Curriculum Framework for Quality Teacher Education*. New Delhi: NCTE.
- Khosla, D. N. (ed.) (1998d), *Teacher Education in Delhi: Current Status, Issues and Future Projections*. New Delhi: NCTE.
- Kishor, S. (1993), 'May God Give Sons to All': Gender and Child Mortality in India'. *American Sociological Review*, 58.
- Kothari, B., Sherry Chand, V. P. and Sharma, R. (2000), *A Review of Primary Education Packages in Madhya Pradesh*. Ahmedabad: Indian Institute of Management.
- Kumar, K. (1986), 'Growing Up Male'. *Seminar*, 318, 21-23.
- Kumar, K. (1989), *Social Character of Learning*. New Delhi: Sage.

- Kumar, K. (1990), 'The Meek Dictator: The Indian Teacher in Historical Perspective'. In N. Entwistle (ed.), *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*. London: Routledge.
- Kumar, K. (1991), *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Kumar, K. (1992), *What is Worth Teaching?* New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Kumar, K. (1993a), 'Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948)'. *Prospects*, 23:2-4, 507-517.
- Kumar, K. (ed.) (1994), *Democracy and Education in India*. London: Sangam.
- Kumar, K. (1996, 14.10.96), 'Teaching Without a Vision: India at Fifty'. *The Times of India*.
- Kumar, K. (1998), 'Agricultural Modernisation and Education: Contours of Point of Departure'. In S. Shukla and R. Kaul (eds), *Education, Development and Underdevelopment*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Kumar, K., Priyam, M. and Saxena, S. (2001), 'Looking Beyond the Smokescreen: DPEP and Primary Education in India'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 17, 560-568.
- Kumar, R. (1993b), *The History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800-1990*. London: Verso.
- Kumari, A. and Kidwai, S. (1998), *Crossing the Sacred Line: Women's Search for Political Power*.
- Lal, J. (1996), 'Situating Locations: The Politics of Self, Identity and 'Other' in Living and Writing the Text'. In D. L. Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Leach, F. (1994), 'Expatriates as Agents of Cross-Cultural Transmission'. *Compare*, 24:3.
- Leach, F. (2003), *Practising Gender Analysis in Education*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Liddle, J. and Joshi, R. (1986), *Daughters of Independence: Gender, Caste and Class in India*. London: Zed Books.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1983), 'Feminism, marxism, method and the state: towards feminist jurisprudence'. *Signs*, 8, 635-658.
- Mahendroo, K. and Noronha, A. (2002), *Eklavya Responds to GoMP's offer for State Level Interventions*. (Retrieved from <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/update27.html>. Consulted 2.11.04).
- Manjrekar, N. (2003), 'Contemporary Challenges to Women's Education: Towards an Elusive Goal'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38:4, 4577-4582.
- Mason, J. (2002), *Qualitative Researching (2nd Edition)*. London: Sage.
- McNay, L. (1992), *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McNay, L. (2000), *Gender and agency: reconfiguring the subject in feminist and social theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- MACESE. (1991), *MACESE: Perspective Paper*. Maulana Azad Centre for Elementary and Social Education, Central Institute of Education, University of Delhi.
- MACESE. (1996), *Scheme of Examinations and Course of Reading for 4 Year Bachelor of Elementary Education*. Delhi: Maulana Azad Centre for Elementary and Social Education, Central Institute of Education, University of Delhi.
- MACESE. (1997), *Norms and Guidelines for Colleges of the University of Delhi for the Bachelor of Elementary Education (B.El.Ed.): A Four-Year Professional Degree of Teacher Education*. New Delhi: Maulana Azad Centre for Elementary and Social Education, Central Institute of Education, University of Delhi.
- MACESE. (2001), *The Bachelor of Elementary Education: Programme of Study*. Delhi: Maulana Azad Centre for Elementary and Social Education, Central Institute of Education, Department of Education, University of Delhi.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (1993), *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualisation of Theory*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Mies, M. (1986), *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Ministry of Education Eritrea and UNICEF. (2003), *The Gender Fair Teacher: Moving Towards Equity in the Eritrean Elementary Classrooms*. Asmara: Ministry of Education and UNICEF Eritrea.
- Mitchell, J. (1971), *Women's Estate*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Mlama, P. (2004), *FAWE's Experience in Africa in Changing Teaching for Gender Equity*.
- Mohanty, C. (1988), 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'. *Feminist Review*, 30, 61-88.



- Moletsane, R. (2004), *Gender Equality and Teacher Education in South Africa: A Review of the History*. Paper presented to the Second Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access Seminar, 2-3 February 2004, Nairobi, Kenya (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Lebo%20Moletsane%20paper.pdf>. Consulted 24.3.05).
- Muito, M. (2004), *Gender Equality in the Classroom: Reflections on Practice*. Paper presented to the Second Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access Seminar, 2-3 February 2004, Nairobi, Kenya (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Muito%20paper.pdf>. Consulted 24.3.05).
- Mukherjee, R. (1999), 'EPW Perspective: Caste in Itself, Caste and Class, or Caste in Class?'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 3-9.
- Mukhopadhyay, M. (1999), 'Brother, There are only two Jatis: Men and Women. Section 125 Criminal Procedure Code and the Trail of Wifehood'. In N. Kabeer and R. Subrahmanian (eds), *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Nagel, J. (1998), 'Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 242-269.
- Nambissan, G. B. (2004), 'Integrating Gender Concerns'. *Seminar*, 536: *Are We Learning?*
- Nawani, D. (2000), *Role and Contribution of NGOs to Basic Education (Year 2000 EFA Assessment) (Pages 36-37)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Nayar, U. (1993), *Universal Primary Education of Rural Girls in India*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Nayar, U. (1995), *From Girl Child to Person: Resource Material for Teachers and Head Teachers in Primary Schools in India*. New Delhi: UNESCO.
- Nayar, U. (1996), *Women's Equality and Empowerment Through the Curriculum: A Handbook for Teachers at the Primary Stage*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Nayar, U. (1997a), 'Education of Girls and Women: A Trend Report'. In NCERT (ed.), *Fifth Survey of Educational Research: 1988-92. Volume I*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Nayar, U. (1997b), *Legal Literacy for Educational Personnel with Focus on Women and Girls*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Nayar, U. (1997c), *Women's Equality and Empowerment Through the Curriculum: A Handbook for Teachers at the Upper Primary Stage*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Nayar, U. (2000a), *Education of Girls in India: An Assessment (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Nayar, U. (2000b), *Education of Girls in India: Progress and Prospects*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- NCAS Research Team, G. P., S Bhattacharjee, J Samual, P Bedi). (2002), *Campaign for the Right to Education (Vol. 2003, )*.
- NCERT. (1991), *Minimum Levels of Learning at the Primary Stage: Report of the Committee set up by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- NCERT. (2000), *National Curriculum Framework for School Education*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Neft, N. and Levine, A. D. (1997), *Where Women Stand: An International Report on the Status of Women in 140 Countries, 1997-1998*. New York: Random House.
- Nussbaum, M. (2001), *Sex and Social Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000a), *Women's Capabilities and Social Justice Working Paper for Beijing + 5 Review*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2000b), *Women and Human Development: the Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2004), 'Women's Education: A Global Challenge'. *Signs*, 29, 325-55.
- Oakley, A. (1998), 'Gender: Methodology and People's Ways of Knowing: Some Problems with Feminism and the Paradigm Debate in Social Science'. *Sociology*, 32:4 (November), 707-731.
- Omvedt, G. (2000), 'EPW Reviews: Towards a Theory of "Brahmanic Patriarchy"'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 22.
- Page, E. (1997), *In Search of Authentic Voice: An Ethnography of Aid Relationships. The RESETT Project, The Gambia, 1993 to 1997*. London: University of London, Institute of Education (Unpublished Masters Dissertation. Available on-line at [www.elspethpage@freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage@freeuk.com)).

- Page, E. (2003), 'Unsettling caste-bound gender orders: the convergence of teacher commitment and pupil aspiration in two schools in Madhya Pradesh, India'. *Educate*, 3, 35-52 (Available on-line at [www.elspethpage.freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage.freeuk.com)).
- Page, E. (2005), 'Negotiation and Compromise: An Exploration of Gender and Government Elementary Education'. In R. Chopra and P. Jeffrey (eds), *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage (Available on-line at [www.elspethpage.freeuk.com](http://www.elspethpage.freeuk.com)).
- Palriwala, R. (1999), 'Beyond Myths: The Social and Political Dynamics of Gender'. In N. Kabeer and R. Subrahmanian (eds), *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Pande, M. (1996), *Devi: Tales of the Goddess in Our Time*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Pande, M. (2003), *Stepping Out: Life and Sexuality in Rural India*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Pappu, R. (2001), 'A Question of Identity'. *Seminar*, 505: Towards Equality.
- Parthasarathi, V. (1988), 'Socialisation, Women and Education: An Experiment'. In K. Chanana (ed.), *Socialisation, Education and Women*. London: Sangam.
- Passi, B. K. (1997), 'Non-Formal Innovative Strategies for Basic and Primary Education in India'. In J. Lynch, C. Modgil and S. Modgil (eds), *Education and Development: Tradition and Innovation* (Vol. 3: Innovations in Delivering Primary Education, pp. 45-66). London: Cassell.
- Pateman, C. (1988), *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Pieterse, J. N. and Parekh, B. (eds) (1995), *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*. London: Zed Books.
- Prabhakar Bansod Director of Census Operations. (2001), *Census of India 2001 Madhya Pradesh Series 24 Provisional Population Totals Rural-Urban Distribution Paper 2 of 2001*. New Delhi: Controller of Publications.
- Prasad, V. (2001), *Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of the Dalit Community*. Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks.
- Prigle, R. (1989), *Secretaries Talk: Sexuality, Power and Work*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- PROBE Team (ed.) (1999), *Public Report on Basic Education In India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Puri, J. (1999), *Woman, Body, Desire in Post-Colonial India: Narratives of Gender and Sexuality*. London: Routledge.
- Purushothaman, S. (1998), *The Empowerment of Women in India: Grassroots Women's Networks and the State*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Quigley, D. (1993), *The Interpretation of Caste*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Rahnema, M. (1990), 'Swadhyaya: The Unknown, the Peaceful, the Silent yet Singing Revolution of India'. *IFDA (International Forum for Another Development) Dossier*, 75/76 January/April, 19-34.
- Rahnema, M. and Bawtree, V. (eds) (1997), *The Post-Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.
- Rai, S., M. (1997), 'Gender and Representation: Women MPs in the Indian Parliament, 1991-1996'. In A. M. Goetz (ed.), *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed.
- Rai, S., M. (2002), *Gender and the Political Economy of Development*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Raina, V. (1998), 'External Funds, Internal Conflicts'. *Seminar*, 464: Right to Education, 42-49.
- Raina, V. (2002a), *Closure of Hoshangabad Vigyan: Digvijay as BJP's Pointsman*. (Retrieved from <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/VinodHindustan.html>. Consulted 2.11.04).
- Raina, V. (2002b), *Point by Point Response to the Note\* Circulated by R Gopalakrishnan, Secretary to the Chief Minister, Government of Madhya Pradesh, detailing the Government's Case for Closing Down HSTP. (\*Rejection of the Curriculum of Eklavya Implemented by it in the Districts of Hoshangabad, by the District Planning Committee of Hoshangabad: Report on Assessment of Performance and Options)*. (Retrieved from <http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/RevisedNote.html>. Consulted 2.11.04).
- Raina, V. K. (1999), 'Indigenizing Teacher Education in Developing Countries: The Indian Context'. *Prospects*, 29: 1, 5-25.
- Rajagopal, S. (1999), 'Closing the Gender Gap in Education'. In N. Kabeer and R. Subrahmanian (eds), *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: A Framework and Case Studies for Gender-Aware Planning* (pp. 266-287). New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Rajput, J. S. and Walia, K. (1998), 'Assessing Teacher Effectiveness in India: Overview and Critical Appraisal'. *Prospects*, 28:1, 137-150.

- Ramachandran, V. (ed.) (1998), *Bridging the Gap Between Intention and Action: Girls' and Women's Education in South Asia*. New Delhi: ASPBAE.
- Ramachandran, V. (2000), *Education and the Status of Women (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Ramachandran, V. (2001), 'Reaching the Hardest to Reach: Reflections on DPEP'. In European Commission (ed.), *Reflections on Equity, Quality and Local Planning in the District Primary Education Programme (Occasional Papers)*. New Delhi: European Commission.
- Ramachandran, V. (ed.) (2003), *Getting Children Back to School: Case Studies in Primary Education*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Ramachandran, V. (ed.) (2004a), *Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Ramachandran, V. (2004b), *Snakes and Ladders: Factors Influencing Successful Primary School Completion for Children in Poverty Contexts (A Qualitative Study. Synthesis of Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh Case Studies)*. New Delhi: World Bank: South Asia Human Development Sector.
- Ramachandran, V. and Saihjee, A. (2002), 'The New Segregation: Reflections on Gender and Equity in Primary Education'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 27, 1600-1613.
- Ramazanoglu, C. (ed.) (1993), *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions Between Foucault and Feminism*. London: Routledge.
- Rampal, A. (1991), 'Deliverance from the 'Delivery' Metaphor: Curriculum Innovation in India'. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 17, 237-244.
- Rampal, A. (1994a), 'Ideology, the BJP and the Teaching of Science'. In K. Bhasin, R. Menon and N. S. Khan (eds), *Against All Odds: Essays on Women, Religion and Development from India and Pakistan*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Rampal, A. (1994b), 'School Science in Search of a Democratic Order?'. In K. Kumar (ed.), *Democracy and Education in India* (pp. 245-274). London: Sangam.
- Rampal, A. (1995), 'Education for a Possible Structural Change'. In N. Rao, L. Rurup and R. Sudarshan (eds), *Sites of Change: The Structural Context for Empowering Women in India*. New Delhi: FES and UNDP.
- Rampal, A. (1997), 'Education for All: Towards a Reflective Curricular Package that Addresses All'. In J. Lynch, C. Modgil and S. Modgil (eds), *Education and Development: Tradition and Innovation* (Vol. 3: Innovations in Delivering Primary Education, pp. 211-219). London: Cassell.
- Rampal, A. (2000a), 'Education for Human Development in South Asia'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 22.
- Rampal, A. (2000b), *Texts in Context: An EFA 2000 Review (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Rampal, A. (2001), *Curriculum Change for Quality Education: a Study of Schools in DPEP and non-DPEP districts in Kerala*. Thiruvananthapuram: UNICEF and CSES.
- Rampal, A. (2005), 'Revaluing' Education'. In R. Chopra and P. Jeffery (eds), *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Rampal, A. (2005), *Quality and Equality in Education: Gendered Politics of Institutional Change - The Millennium U-Turn?* Paper presented to the Fifth Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access Seminar, Dhaka, 31st January-1st February. (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Seminar%20paper%20Anita%20Ramphal.pdf>. Consulted 26.2.05).
- Rao, S. V. and Dutt, M. D. G. D. (1999), 'Gender Bias and Socialisation Through the Primary School Curriculum in Karnataka'. In R. Indira and D. K. Behera (eds), *Gender and Society in India: Volume I. Theme Papers and Urban Studies* (pp. 141-154). New Delhi: Manak Publications.
- Ray, R. (1988), 'The Contested Terrain of Reproduction: Class and Gender in Schooling in India'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 9:4, 387-401.
- Razavi, S. (1999), 'Gendered Poverty and Well-Being'. *Development and Change*, 30, 409-433.
- Reay, D. (1998), 'Rethinking Social Class: Qualitative Perspectives on Class and Gender'. *Sociology*, 32:2, 259-275.
- Reinhartz, S. (1992), *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robson, C. (1993), *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioners*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Roy, K. (1998), 'Unravelling the Karmasutra'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence? The Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Sachs, W. (ed.) (1996), *The Development Dictionary*. London: Zed Books.
- Said, E. W. (1994), *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Saito, M. (2003), 'Amartya Sen's capability approach to education: a critical exploration'. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 37:1, 17-33.
- Sarangapani, P. M. (2003), *Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of Learning in an Indian Village*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Saraswati, T. S. (1999), 'Adult-Child Continuity in India: Is Adolescence a Myth or an Emerging Reality?', *Culture, Socialisation and Human Development. Theory, Research and Applications in India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Saxena, S. (1998), 'Education of the Poor: A Pedagogy of Resistance'. In S. Shukla and R. Kaul (eds), *Education, Development, Underdevelopment*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Scrase, T. J. (1993), *Image, Ideology and Inequality: Cultural Domination, Hegemony and Schooling in India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Scrase, T. J. (ed.) (1997), *Social Justice and Third World Education*. New York: Garland.
- Seabrook, J. (1999), *Love in a Different Climate: Men who have Sex with Men in India*. London: Verso.
- Seetharamu, A. S. (2000), *Status of Elementary Teachers of India (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Seminar. (1998), 'Right to Education: A Symposium on the State of Basic Education in Our Country'. *Seminar*, 464: April.
- Seminar. (2001a), 'Exclusion A Symposium on Caste, Race and the Dalit Question'. *Seminar*, 508: December.
- Seminar. (2001b), 'Towards Equality: A Symposium on Women, Feminism and Women's Movements'. *Seminar*, 505: September.
- Seminar. (2003), 'Rewriting History: A Symposium on Ways of Representing Our Shared Past'. *Seminar*, 522: February.
- Seminar. (2004), 'Are We Learning? A Symposium on Ensuring Quality Elementary Education'. *Seminar*, 536: April.
- Sen, A. (1987), 'The Standard of Living'. In G. Hawthorn (ed.), *The Standard of Living*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sen, A. (1992), *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. (1999), *Reason Before Identity*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. (2000), *Development as Freedom*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, G. (1999), 'Engendering Poverty Alleviation: Challenges and Opportunities'. *Development and Change*, 30, 685-692.
- Sen, G. and Grown, C. (1988), *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*. London: Earthscan.
- Seshadri, C. (2000), *Primary Teacher Training in the EFA Decade (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Seymour, S. (1994a), 'College Women's Aspirations: A Challenge to the Patrifocal Family System?'. In C. Mukhopadhyay and S. Seymour (eds), *Women, Education and Family Structure in India* (pp. 213-234). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Seymour, S. (1994b), 'Women, Marriage and Educational Change in Bhubaneswar, India: A Twenty-Five Year Perspective'. In M. C. Chapnick and J. Seymour (eds), *Women, Education and Family Structure in India* (pp. 165-186). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Shariff, A. (ed.) (1999), *India Human Development Report: A Profile of Indian States in the 1990s*. New Delhi: NCAER and Oxford University Press.
- Shariff, A. (2002), *West and Central India Human Development Report*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Shariff, A. and Sudarshan, R. (1996), 'Elementary Education and Health in Rural India: Some Indicators'. In N. Rao, L. Rurup and R. Sudarshan (eds), *Sites of Change: the Structural Context for Women's Empowerment in India*. New Delhi: FES and UNDP.
- Sharma, A. (2003a), *Experiences of Thinking Through Gender Equality and Curriculum: The Case of Madhya Pradesh*. Paper Presented for the First DFID-funded IOE/Oxfam Gender, Education and

- Development: Beyond Access Project. (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Amita%20Sharma%20paper.pdf>. Consulted 9.11.04).
- Sharma, A. (2003b), 'Idea of Education: Epistemic Tensions and Educational Reform'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38:32, 3391-3400.
- Sharma, R. (1999), 'What Manner of Teacher? Some Lessons from Madhya Pradesh'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 19.
- Sharma, R. (2000), 'Decentralisation, Professionalism and the School System in India'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 14, 3765-3774.
- Sherry Chand, V. and Shukla, S. R. (eds) (1998), *Teachers As Transformers: Learning from Outstanding Primary School Teachers*. Gandhinagar, Gujarat: UNICEF.
- Shiva, V. (1989), *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*. London: Zed.
- Shiva, V. (1997), 'Western Science and its Destruction of Local Knowledge'. In M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (eds), *The Post-Development Reader* (pp. 161-167). London: Zed Press.
- Shotton, J. R. (1998), *Learning and Freedom: Policy, Pedagogy and Paradigms in Indian Education and Schooling*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Silverman, D. (2000), *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. (2001), *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction (Second Edition)*. London: Sage.
- Singh, M. P. (1996), *V N Shukla's Constitution of India*. Lucknow: Eastern Books.
- Singh, R. (1997), *Women Reborn: An Exploration of the Spirituality of Urban Indian Women*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Sinha, R. P. (ed.) (1997), *Inequality in Indian Education*. New Delhi: Vikas.
- Skeggs, B. (1997a), 'Classifying Practices'. In P. Mahony and C. Zmroczek (eds), *Class Matters: 'Working-Class' Women's Perspectives on Social Class*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Skeggs, B. (1997b), *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*. London: Sage.
- Slapsak, S. (2000), 'Hunting, ruling, sacrificing: traditional male practices in contemporary Balkan culture'. In I. Breines, R. W. Connell and I. Eide (eds), *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: A Culture of Peace Perspective*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Smawfield, D. and Poulsen, H. (2000), *Mainstreaming Gender Through Sector Wide Approaches in Education: India Case Study*. London and Cambridge: ODI and CEC.
- Spivak, G. C. (1990), *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. (1st ed.). London and New York: Routledge.
- Srinivas, M. N. (1962), *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*. Bombay: New Book Company.
- Srinivas, M. N. (ed.) (1996a), *Caste: its Twentieth Century Avatar*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Srinivas, M. N. (1996b), *Village, Caste, Gender and Method: Essays in Indian Social Anthropology*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Srivastava, K. (2004), *Community Mobilisation, Gender Equality and Resource Mobilisation in Adult Education: Experiences of BGVP and the Samata Movement Towards Women's Education, Equality and Building Citizenship*. Paper presented to the Fourth Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access Seminar, 24-25 June 2004, University of East Anglia, Norwich (Retrieved from <http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Komal%20paper%20updated.pdf>. Consulted 24.3.05).
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990), *Basics of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Subrahmanian, R. (1997), 'If You Build it, Will They Come?'. *IDS Bulletin*, 28:3, 101-111.
- Subrahmanian, R. (1999), *Coproducing Universal Primary Education in a Context of Social Exclusion: Households, Community Organisation and State Administration in a District of Karnataka, India*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, The Open University, Milton Keynes.
- Subrahmanian, R. (2002), 'Engendering Education: Prospects for a Rights-Based Approach to Female Education Deprivation in India'. In M. Molyneux and S. Razawi (eds), *Gender Justice, Development and Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Subrahmanian, R. (2003), 'Introduction: Exploring Processes of Marginalisation and Inclusion in Education'. *IDS Bulletin*, 34:1 *Education Inclusion and Exclusion: Indian and South African Perspectives*, 1-8.

- Sudarshan, R. M. (2000), 'Educational Status of Girls and Women'. In R. Wazir (ed.), *The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Sukthankar, A. (ed.) (1999), *Facing the Mirror: Lesbian Writing from India*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Sweetman, C. (ed.) (1998), *Gender, Religion and Spirituality*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Talib, M. (1998), 'Educating the Oppressed: Observations from a School in a Working Class Settlement in Delhi'. In S. Shukla and R. Kaul (eds), *Education, Development and Underdevelopment* (pp. 199-209). New Delhi: Sage.
- Taylor, W. H. (1991), 'India's National Curriculum: Prospects and Potential for the 1990s'. *Comparative Education*, 27:3, 325-347.
- Thapan, M. (1994), 'Missing Voices in the Sociology of the School in India: An Attempt at Restoring Them'. In K. Kumar (ed.), *Democracy and Education in India* (pp. 221-244). London: Sangam.
- Thapan, M. (ed.) (1998), *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Tharu, S. (1998), 'Citizenship and its Discontents'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence? The Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- The Tribune. (2002), *Education Now a Fundamental Right*. The Tribune: December 17, 2002 (Retrieved from <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2002/20021217/main8.htm>. Consulted 28.9.04).
- Thorat, V. (2001), 'Dalit Women Have Been Left Behind by the Women's Movement and the Dalit Movement'. *Communalism Combat*, 69: 12 May.
- Tilak, J., B, G. (2000), *Financing of Elementary Education in India (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999), *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- UN General Assembly. (2000), *United Nations Millennium Declaration*. (Retrieved from [www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf](http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf) (A/RES/55/2). Consulted 15.9.04).
- UN General Assembly. (2001), *Road map towards implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration*. (Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/56/a56326.pdf> (A/56/326). Consulted 15.9.04).
- UNDP. (1990), *Human Development Report 1990: Concepts and Measurement of Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNDP. (1995), *Human Development Report 1995: The Revolution for Gender Equality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNDP. (2003), *Human Development Report 2003: Millennium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNDP. (2004), *Human Development Report 2004: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNESCO. (1997), *Gender Sensitivity: A Training Manual*. Division of Basic Education, Literacy Section, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2000), *Module 5: Gender Sensitivity (Module 5 from Resource/Training Handbook for Guidance, Counselling and Youth Development for Africa Initiative)*. Paris (Developed in Zambia): UNESCO (Available on-line at <http://www.unesco.org/education/mebam/index.shtml> and [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php@URL\\_ID=10996&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php@URL_ID=10996&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)).
- UNESCO. (2003a), *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4. Gender and Education for All: the Leap to Equality*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2003b), *Guidelines for Preparing Gender Responsive EFA Plans*. Bangkok: UNESCO: Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education.
- UNESCO. (2003c), *A Toolkit for Promoting Gender Equality in Education*. Gender in Education Network in Asia (GENIA), Bangkok: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2004), *Embracing Diversity: Toolkit for Creating Inclusive Learning-Friendly Environments*. Bangkok: UNESCO: Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education.
- UNICEF. (2002), *HIV/AIDS Education: A Gender Perspective - Tips and Tools*. New York: UNICEF.

- UNICEF. (2003), *State of the Worlds' Children, 2004: Girls, Education and Development*. New York: UNICEF.
- Unterhalter, E. (1999, ), *Poverty, Education and Women's Power: Indian State and Civil Society Intersections in DPEP (District Primary Education Programme) and Mahila Samakhya*. Paper presented at the Oxford International Conference on Education and Development: Poverty, Power and Partnerships, Oxford University, New College.
- Unterhalter, E. (2003a), 'The capabilities approach and gendered education. An examination of South African complexities'. *Theory and Research in Education*, 1, 7-22.
- Unterhalter, E. (2003b), *Gender, Basic Education and Development: A Review of the Literature*. Prepared for the Introductory Seminar of the Institute of Education/Oxfam Gender, Development and Education: Beyond Access Project, London, 30th June 2003. (Retrieved from [www.girlseducation.org/PGE\\_Active\\_Pages/NetworkMembers/BeyondAccess/index.asp](http://www.girlseducation.org/PGE_Active_Pages/NetworkMembers/BeyondAccess/index.asp). Consulted 8.10.04).
- Unterhalter, E. and Brighouse, H. (2003), *Distribution of what? How will we know if we have achieved Education for All by 2015*. Paper presented to the 3rd Conference of the Capabilities Approach: From Sustainable Development to Sustainable Freedom, University of Pavia, September.
- Unterhalter, E., Rajagopalan, R. and Challender, C. (2005), *A Scorecard on Gender Equality and Girls' Education in Asia, 1990-2000*. Bangkok: UNESCO.
- Varma, P. K. (1999), *The Great Indian Middle Class*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Vasavi, A. R. (2003), 'Schooling for a New Society? The Social and Political Bases of Education Deprivation in India'. *IDS Bulletin*, 34:1 *Education Inclusion and Exclusion: Indian and South African Perspectives*, 72-80.
- Vasudevan, R. (1998), 'Sexuality and the Film Apparatus: Continuity, Non-Continuity and Discontinuity in Bombay Cinema'. In M. E. John and J. Nair (eds), *A Question of Silence: the Sexual Economies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Vatuk, S. (1994), 'Schooling for What? The Cultural and Social Context of Women's Education in a South Indian Muslim Family'. In C. C. Mukhopadhyay and S. Seymour (eds), *Women, Education and Family Structure in India* (pp. 135-164). Oxford: Westview Press.
- Velaskar, P. (1998), 'Ideology, Education and the Political Struggle for Liberation: Change and Challenge Among the Dalits of Maharashtra'. In S. Shukla and R. Kaul (eds), *Education, Development and Underdevelopment* (pp. 210-240). New Delhi: Sage.
- Visaria, L. and Ramachandran, V. (2004), 'What DPEP and Other Data Sources Reveal'. In V. Ramachandran (ed.), *Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access (Chapter 2)*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Visweswaran, K. (1994), *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Walby, S. (1990), *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Walker, M. (2001, 30 April), 'Getting to the top of the class'. *The Guardian*.
- Walker, M. (2002), 'Gender Justice, Knowledge and Research: a Perspective from Education on Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach'. *Paper presented at Capabilities Conference, Cambridge, September 2002* *Paper presented to the 2nd Conference of the Capabilities Approach: Promoting Women's Capabilities: Examining Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, von Hugel Institute, St Edmunds College, Cambridge, September 9-10*.
- Walker, M. (2003), 'Framing Social Justice in Education: what does the capabilities approach have to offer?'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 51:2, 168-187.
- Walker, M. (2005a), 'The Capability Approach and Education'. *Educational Action Research*, 3:1, 105-122.
- Walker, M. (2005b), *Higher Education Pedagogies: A Capabilities Approach*. Maidenhead: SRHE/Open University Press and McGraw-Hill.
- Walker, M. (Forthcoming), 'Towards a Capability-Based Theory of Social Justice in Education'. *Journal of Educational Policy*.
- Wazir, R. (ed.) (2000), *The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents*. New Delhi: Sage.

- WCEFA-I Jomtien. (1990), *World Declaration on Education for All and Framework For Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs*. New York: Inter-Agency Commission (UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, World Bank).
- WEF-II Dakar. (2000), *The Dakar Framework for Action Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Weiler, K. (1988), *Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class and Power*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Weiler, K. (1991), 'Freire and a Feminist Pedagogy of Difference'. *Harvard Educational Review*, 61, 449-474.
- Wilson, E. (1987), *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wolf, D. L. (ed.) (1996), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Wolpert, S. (1991), *India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- World Bank. (1997), *Primary Education in India*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (2001), *Engendering Development: Through Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yadav, M. S., Bhardwaj, M., Sedwal, M. and Gaur, N. (2000), *Learner Achievements in Primary Schools (Year 2000 EFA Assessment)*. New Delhi: NIEPA and MHRD, GoI.
- Yin, R. K. (1989), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage.

